AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1993 75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

COPYRIGHT © 1993 THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING SOCIETY - All rights reserved

VOL. 85, NO. 150

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF/FILE

Russians Flock to McDonald's in Moscow

The fast-food giant, planning to expand into other cities in Russia, is struggling to find reliable suppliers who can become modern partners. Its experience shows how foreign investment in production is helping to transform former Soviet republics into market economies. **PAGE 8.**

Black Caucus Feels Left Out Of Clinton Plans

Usually loyal congressional Democrats resist budget cuts, open new lines to Republicans

By Max Boot

Staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

MEMBERS of the Congressional Black Caucus lined up on a small sound stage near the House of Representatives chamber last week to announce their opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement. Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D) of Michigan blasted a treaty that is generally supported by President Clinton as "a union-busting, environmentally detrimental program that cannot be remedied by side agreements."

It was only the latest slap at the Democratic administration from the 40-member bloc, whose support may be vital to passing an economic package and the rest of Mr. Clinton's agenda. Caucus members, normally the most loyal Democrats in Congress, have broken ranks with their party recently, even going so far as to open talks with GOP senators on an alternative budget deal.

Caucus members say their bitterness toward the administration has been fueled by irritations great and small. On a personal level, caucus members are upset that the president has not consulted with them before making decisions – a failing they attribute to the lack of minority faces among Clinton's top White House aides. On policy matters, caucus members have been upset by the president's flip-flop on letting Haitian refugees into this country and, especially, by his handling of the Lani Guinier nomination to the Justice Department.

"The final straw was Ms. Guinier's withdrawal," says Rep.

See **CAUCUS** *page 4*

Turkey and Russia Back Rivals In Azerbaijan Power Struggle

Democratically elected president contests steps by ex-communist boss

By Daniel Sneider

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

and Colin Barraclough

MOSCOW AND NAKHICHEVAN, AZERBAIJAN

OUSTED by rebel troops and stripped of his powers by a besieged parliament, Azerbaijan's first democratically elected president stands fast in retreat.

"I don't believe that Azerbaijan will go back [to dictatorship] and, if so, it can only survive for a very short time," Abulfaz Elchibey, the bearded president and scholar, said in an interview in his home village of Ordubad, high in the mountains of the Azeri region of Nakhichevan. "We have already made some steps toward a market economy and this will prevent Azerbaijan from returning to a form of dictatorship."

Mr. Elchibey, who was elected with 60 percent of the vote last June, fled Baku June 18 when rebel troops advanced from their base in the western city of Ganja to the outskirts of the capital of Baku. On June 24, with rebel troops surrounding the building, the parliament voted to strip Elchibey of his powers because of his refusal to return to the capital.

Negotiations for sharing power are going on between former Communist Party chief Geidar Aliyev, now elected head of the parliament, and rebel commander Suret Guseinov.

In defeat, Elchibey has gathered his closest followers from the nationalist Azerbaijan Popular Front around him in a bunker atmosphere. Trusted Popular Front militiamen guard his office, while military police and National Guard units have sealed the area.

But the strongest support for Elchibey has come from abroad, from the United States, the European Community, and particularly from neighboring Turkey, all of which have continued to defend the legitimacy of his presidency. On June 24, the Turkish Foreign

See **AZERBAIJAN** *page 4*

TURKISH CONFLICT HITS EUROPE

Kurd Militants Broaden Struggle, Target Economy

By Sami Kohen

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ISTANBUL

IN early June, Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of an outlawed separatist organization called the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), told reporters at his Lebanese hideout that his guerrilla forces would launch "an all-out war" against Turkey.

He gravely warned that the Kurdish militants under his command, who have spent almost a decade fighting for independence from Turkey, would escalate their battle and target "economic and touristic interests."

The warning was immediately followed by a series of attacks by PKK guerrillas in and outside Turkey, marking the end of a unilateral cease-fire that Mr. Ocalan had declared last March.

In recent days, Kurdish militants have attacked Turkish embassies, consulates, banks, and businesses in 19 European cities; seized United Nations offices in Sydney, Australia; and occupied the Parliament in Melbourne for a few hours on June 27.

These attacks have added to the uneasiness in Germany, where

See **KURDS** *page 4*

Majority Minority Districts At Risk
High court votes 5 to 4 that some US districts constitute 'racial gerrymander.'
7

Wool Woes Down Under
Lower prices, drought, and other troubles are lowering the standard of living of Australian sheep farmers.
12

Madrid as Art Mecca
With Spain's purchase of the renowned Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, the city now has a trio of world-class museums.
14

UN-Mediated Talks on Haiti Threatened

UNITED Nations-mediated talks to restore democracy to Haiti with exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, the military leader who ousted him, neared an early end on June 28 as General Cedras refused to relinquish control of the military.

United States State Department officials apparently were pressuring Cedras to moderate his position so talks could continue, said the sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

At one point UN envoy Dante Caputo broke off the talks because Cedras insisted on retaining control of the Army under civilian rule. Mr. Caputo later issued a terse statement. "I have just received some indications that allow me to say that the negotiations are still going on," he said, refusing to elaborate.

Cedras and Fr. Aristide do not plan to meet until there is agreement on restoring Aristide, restructuring the government, and guaranteeing a transition to democracy.

In Haiti, the joint UN-Organization of American States civilian observer mission denounced a June 27 attack on Aristide supporters. Security forces broke up a demonstration of about 150 to 200 people in Cite Soleil, a sprawling slum just north of the capital that is a bulwark of support for Aristide. At least one person was arrested, according to local radio stations.

Local media reported June 28 that several other incidents took place over the weekend, including one where a soldier shot and injured people who were shouting anti-military slogans at a concert. Also, searches were performed by security forces that forced Aristide backers into hiding in the city of Gonaïves.

In an event that was televised nationwide, military and armed civilians arrested and beat several people in a Port-au-Prince church on June 27 after some worshipers began chanting pro-Aristide slogans.

In a statement released later, the observer mission said seven people were detained and severely beaten at police headquarters.

– Compiled by Faye Bowers

INTERNATIONAL

The Politics of Dividing a Navy

Tensions run high among sailors over Russia-Ukraine pact on Soviet Black Sea Fleet

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SEVASTOPOL, UKRAINE

AMID the leafy grounds and low stucco buildings of a former ensign's school, the fledgling Navy of independent Ukraine has set up its headquarters. From here Vice Adm. Boris Kozhin, a tall, charming veteran of the former Soviet Navy, commands a grand armada of two ships, one of them headed for the scrapyard.

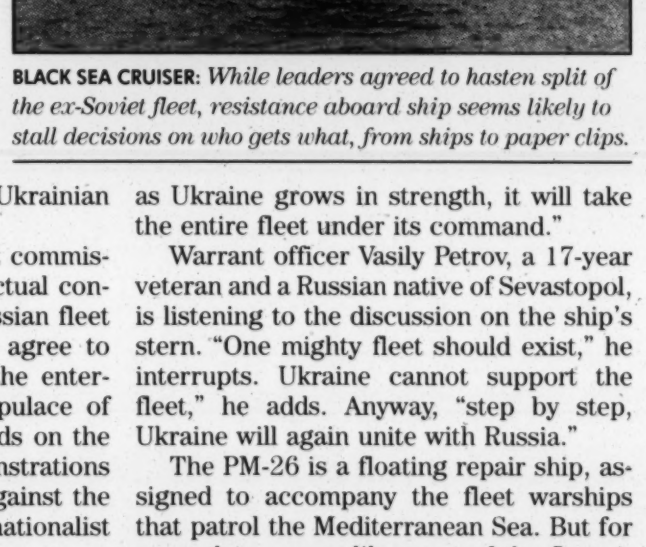
But now Vice Admiral Kozhin has his eyes on half of the approximately 345-ship Black Sea Fleet, most of which sits anchored in the five bays of this Crimean seaport. This is Ukraine's share of a 50-50 split in the fleet agreed to on June 17 by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Ukrainian counterpart Leonid Kravchuk.

"By 1995, two fleets should be formed," Kozhin says with satisfaction. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union highlighted the issue of control over the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainians have sought division as the only solution.

But across town, in the formidable white marble edifice overlooking the port, the Russian commanders of the fleet are bristling with anger at their "betrayal" by short-sighted politicians.

"For me, it is hard to see anything good in the agreement," says fleet spokesman Capt. Andrei Grachev, who slams doors and paces in his office. "In the Ukrainian Navy there is a kind of celebration. But the spirits of our men are very low."

For Captain Grachev and his commanders, there is also only one solution – to keep a united fleet. "It is very hard to see how the Black Sea Fleet can be divided, a fleet that was created as a united military force," he says. "This agreement reduces the military and combat potential of the fleet to nil." With the endorsement of the fleet command, representatives of each ship met June 29 to condemn the agreement.



GORE ANDRESHUSKY/AFP/FILE

BLACK SEA CRUISER: *While leaders agreed to hasten split of the ex-Soviet fleet, resistance aboard ship seems likely to stall decisions on who gets what, from ships to paper clips.*

The chasm between the reaction of Ukrainian and Russian commanders here to the deal suggests that this solution may be as ill-fated as two previous ones. The agreement reached last year in Yalta to begin talks on dividing the fleet, while keeping it formally united until 1995, was never implemented.

Now the naval officers from both sides are to sit down in a joint commission, perhaps on Sept. 1, to decide how to divide everything from the huge cruisers at dock and the warehouses of ammunition on shore to the desks and paper clips, forming two separate navies by 1995.

But in conversations from the decks of naval vessels to the headquarters, it is evident that there is not even agreement on how to begin this discussion, much less conclude it quickly. Instead, the latest agreement seems certain to generate more controversy unless intense political pressure forces a resistant Russian military into line.

"I can't even imagine how this commission will work," Grachev says. "Who will define the principles of division? Who is to tell us how to divide? We have unique facilities, for example, such as a communications system. Will we divide lines of communication? Or telephones? Or telephone numbers?"

Nor is trust abundant on the Ukrainian side. "I am 100 percent sure that they'll try to give Ukraine the oldest ships, the junk they themselves don't need," says Senior Lt. Oleg Priatkin, an officer in the Ukrainian Navy's 1st Brigade.

The thorniest issue is not how to divide the ships, but the extensive network of shore facilities – the docks, repair yards, and so on. A key to the deal reached between President Yeltsin and Mr. Kravchuk is an agreement to allow the Russians to continue to base their half of the fleet in Sevastopol and other Ukrainian bases.

Under the new pact, the joint commission also will define the "contractual conditions of deployment of the Russian fleet in Ukraine." The Russians also agree to provide economic support for the enterprises and the 420,000-odd populace of Sevastopol, which largely depends on the fleet for its livelihood. Demonstrations have taken place almost daily against the split of the fleet, led by Russian nationalist groups.

According to Grachev, a secret agreement was also signed that provides for "leasing a small part of Sevastopol" to the Russian Navy. The Russians are unhappy with this, demanding instead the long-term lease of the entire port.

Kozhin's understanding is diametrically opposed. The agreement in his view provides for "mutual use of all coastal installations" only until 1995. The joint commission will sit and decide "this command post is needed for Russia, that [post] is needed by Ukraine, this ammunition warehouse goes to Russia, that warehouse will be given to Ukraine." Kozhin does not rule out leasing of the bases beyond 1995.

Down on the gray ships of the Black Sea Fleet, the opinions are equally divided.

"Ukraine needs its own fleet here," says 19-year-old sailor Vladimir Guz, a native Ukrainian, as is half the crew. "I believe that first the fleet will be divided, and then as Ukraine grows in strength, it will take the entire fleet under its command."

Warrant officer Vasily Petrov, a 17-year veteran and a Russian native of Sevastopol, is listening to the discussion on the ship's stern. "One mighty fleet should exist," he interrupts. Ukraine cannot support the fleet," he adds. Anyway, "step by step, Ukraine will again unite with Russia."

The PM-26 is a floating repair ship, assigned to accompany the fleet warships that patrol the Mediterranean Sea. But for more than a year, like most of the fleet, it has stood moored to the dock, rendered inactive by the Ukrainian-Russian dispute, which has left the fleet without fuel, supplies, and orders to set sail.

Last month the PM-26 was one of more than 200 supply and other support ships that pulled down the old Soviet red banner that remains the agreed symbol of the joint fleet and hoisted the Russian St. Andrews flag. The flag-raising was a Russian-led protest over alleged Ukrainian attempts to force oaths of allegiance to its Navy and inadequate salaries and supplies.

"We want to get fuel and go to sea," says deputy ship commander Capt. Vladimir Babich, "that is why we hoisted the flag."

Captain Babich is Ukrainian by nationality. But typical of those born and bred here, he speaks no Ukrainian and considers Sevastopol – the sight of the great battles of the Crimean War of 1854-56 and World War II – "a Russian city" and himself "a Russian." The red-haired officer prefers to keep a united fleet, but he now accepts division as "the quick solution." He wants the deed done now, not dragged out over two years. If that happens, "then a tug of war will start," he says.

Putting charismatic opposition leaders on trial could spark unrest, but then again, so could a decision to release them

Serb Leader Faces Dilemma on Dissidents

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

PRESIDENT Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia faces a dilemma over what to do with opposition leader Vuk Draskovic and his wife, who remain under guard in a hospital a month after they were arrested and severely beaten by police.

To proceed with a show trial would risk major anti-regime protests that could provide an outlet for other grievances, such as growing economic hardships fueled by UN sanctions.

It could also prompt new international condemnation of Mr. Milosevic and hamper his efforts to build support for a plan widely seen here as a bid to carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

On the other hand, the Draskovics' release would return to the political arena the one man capable of galvanizing Serbia's feud-riven opposition and its only charismatic crowd-drawer. It would also be perceived as a sign of weakness by Milosevic that could encourage demonstrations he is anxious to avoid.

"Milosevic has a problem," says Natasha Kandic, head of the Humanitarian Law Fund, a Belgrade-based human rights monitoring group. "He knows that when Draskovic is freed, it will be a very dangerous moment."

A Western diplomat suggests: "The longer Draskovic stays in jail, the more likely he will become a rallying point."

Mr. Draskovic, the head of the Serbian Renewal Movement – known by the initials SPO – and his wife, Danica, an executive committee member and a prominent politician in her own right, were arrested hours after June 1 clashes between opposition protesters and police in downtown Belgrade in which one police officer was killed.

They were held on preliminary charges of undermining the constitutional order and interfering with the police.

The couple was seized in a predawn raid by police commandos, who swarmed into the SPO headquarters without a warrant. Witnesses, including journalists, have recounted how Draskovic was handcuffed and forced to run a gantlet of officers as they kicked and beat him with truncheons. Both he and his wife, who heads the most radical wing of the SPO, were allegedly beaten while being driven to jail.

Only after international pressure, including protests by French President François Mitterrand, and Greek and United States officials, were the couple moved from Belgrade's main prison to a hospital for treatment.

'Milosevic has a problem. He knows that when Draskovic is freed, it will be a very dangerous moment.'
– Belgrade rights activist

The state has until July 1 to decide whether to formally indict the Draskovics, seek a court-ordered extention of their incarceration pending further investigation, or let them go.

But, while the deadline is prescribed by law, the decision on how to proceed will have little to do with jurisprudence in a country that has retained its communist-designed legal system.

"The decision will not be made by a judge. It will be made in a backroom," says Jovan Koprivica, a leading criminal lawyer deeply involved in politics. "For Milosevic, peace in Serbia is most important. The situation is so unstable that a tiny conflict can provoke trouble."

Milosevic has so far reaped several important strategic benefits from the Draskovic arrests, including renewed infighting among Serbia's main opposition parties as they jockey to fill the leadership vacuum.

"The opposition is strong with Draskovic," Kandic says. "Without Draskovic, it is weak. Milosevic knows this very well."

The Serb leader exploited the opposition leadership crisis by having state-run Belgrade television, the main custodian of his power, air footage of the June 1 clashes that carefully painted the Draskovics as the chief protagonists.

"It was very good propaganda," Kandic says. "No civilian was killed. Only a policeman. Now, normal people believe the SPO is an aggressive party, and it is good to keep Draskovic in prison."

Stjepan Gredelj, a sociologist, says the propaganda and the beatings meted out by police to the Draskovics and others during and after the clashes have further dampened overt expressions of anti-Milosevic sentiments.

"Fear is very deeply rooted now in people," Mr. Gredelj says. "People are also exhausted from the economic crash."

For these reasons, analysts speculate the regime may believe it can reach a face-saving resolution to the Draskovics' case that averts a drawn-out show trial.

Instead of indicting the couple on the more serious charge of undermining the constitutional order, which could carry up to 15 years in jail, the state may simply charge interference with the police, a misdemeanor involving a far shorter term.

Senior SPO members say they believe the regime will bow to international pressure and release the Draskovics this week.

Mr. Koprivica, however, says he believes it is unlikely Milosevic will opt for leniency. Yet, he adds, "the regime doesn't know what to do. It would be happiest if Draskovic didn't exist."

Bhutanese Refugees Carry Tales of Torture, Harassment

By Patralekha Chatterjee
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

JHAPA, NEPAL

ON a hot, humid afternoon in a refugee camp in the Nepali town of Jhapa, Burkha Bahadur is busy building a shelter with mud, bamboo, and plastic sheets.

He is one of truckloads of men, women, and children who stream into the temporary shelters every week from neighboring Bhutan. The refugees carry tales of torture and harassment – of homes being plundered, women raped, and children being forced into labor.

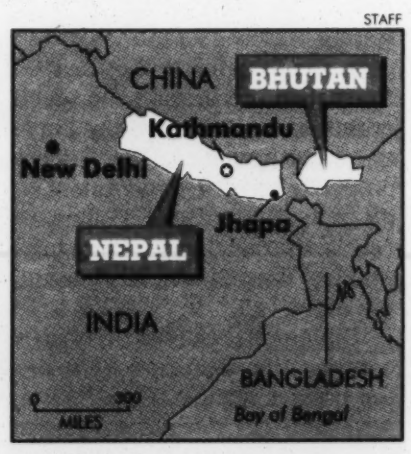
Mr. Bahadur, a refugee in the Khudunawadi camp, supported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, speaks wistfully about the house, orange trees, maize fields, and cattle he left behind. "We would love to return," he says, but fear holds him back. "The village headman came to our house one day. 'Unless you leave, your house will be burned,' he threatened. I was afraid. In a neighboring village, the Bhutanese security forces had raided several houses. 'The same thing could happen to me,' I thought."

More than 100,000 people have fled tiny Bhutan, the world's oldest Buddhist monarchy, and come to Nepal, a country with 60 percent of its people below the poverty line. The refugees make demands on Nepal's scarce land resources, and Nepal cannot bear them without seriously damaging its growth prospects, says Ram Sharan Mahat, vice-chairman of the Nepali National Planning Commission.

With "louder" refugee crises elsewhere in the world, the story of the 100,000 refugees from Bhutan receives scant attention.

Talks between Nepal and Bhutan, begun more than a year ago, deadlocked on whether the people qualify as refugees.

The origins of the exodus, which started in 1990, are murky. At the heart of the matter is the issue of nationality and Bhutanese concerns about being overwhelmed by the vastly more numerous ethnic groups from adjacent lands.



Nepalis have been migrating to Bhutan since the mid-19th-century. Most settled in the southern half of the country, which was heavily forested and largely uninhabited. In the 1950s, a second wave of Nepalis flooded Bhutan looking for work and were encouraged by the Bhutanese regime to contribute to an ambitious economic development plan. They were given the name "Lhotshampa" by the majority Drukpa ethnic group in Bhutan.

Tensions began when Bhutan held its first census and the Drukpas began feeling that they were in danger of being overshadowed by the immigrant Lhotshampas. In response, Bhutan made Bhutanese language and dress compulsory. Refugees say that things went steadily downhill, and a systematic campaign of repression was launched against Nepalis by Bhutanese security forces. In response, some of the immigrants turned to insurgency.

After 1990, Bhutan began to evict what it called "illegal settlers" or "political activists." By 1992, the exodus had become torrential. The pace of the outflow has since dropped, however, from last year's rate of almost 10,000 per month.

Bhutan does not accept that the majority of the people in the camps are "refugees," preferring to call them "illegal residents," "imported Nepali laborers claiming to be Bhutanese," or simply "dissidents" – terms which neither Nepal nor the refugees accept. India refuses to intervene, despite a 1949 friendship treaty with Bhutan in which the Bhutanese agreed to abide by India's advice on international relations.

Today, though many humanitarian aid organizations are helping the Bhutanese refugees with money and building supplies, the thorny issues emerging in Jhapa pose serious challenges to Nepal.

"Conflicts between the locals and the refugees will heighten. And in the long term, there could be serious social problems," warns Arno Coerver, coordinator of the Bhutanese refugee project run by the Lutheran World Service.

Miles away from the cluster of refugee camps, in the heart of Damak municipality in Nepal, Purna Chettri, formerly a district medical officer in Bhutan, writes out a prescription to one of his Nepali patients, in a small rented room he uses as a clinic.

Dr. Chettri is among the several Bhutanese doctors who fled their homeland fearing persecution. "I heard there was a plan to fabricate charges against me and get me arrested. I decided to leave. I did not want to go to jail," he says.

CAUCUS from page 1

Donald Payne (D) of New Jersey.

After her nomination was yanked June 3, the caucus voted not to accept an invitation to meet Clinton. There are still no plans for a get-together. "Nothing has happened yet to change the feeling that was there in the caucus," says Rep. Major Owens (D) of New York. "There's a feeling that the caucus was being taken for granted ... and a feeling of betrayal by the White House."

Caucus members say they will not take out their frustrations with Clinton on his economic package. "We've got too much to do to play pay back with the administration," says Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D) of Maryland, the caucus chairman. All the same, he and other caucus members say the budget, as it emerged from the Senate, is "unacceptable."

THE caucus's favorite programs have been eliminated by the Senate (e.g. empowerment zones for urban areas) or scaled back dramatically (e.g. the Earned Income Tax Credit, from $28 billion to $18 billion). In the House, caucus members supported $50 billion of cuts in Medicare growth over five years. But they are unwilling to support the extra $17 billion in cuts tacked on by the Senate.

The Democratic leadership says those problems can be adjusted in the conference committee beginning this week. "I don't think the Black Caucus will abstain from supporting the package," says House Speaker Thomas Foley (D) of Washington.

But Black Caucus members are skeptical. Reinstating their favorite programs, caucus members note, would mean boosting taxes, which would not fly in the Senate. "It's a very delicate thing to do," says Rep. Charles Rangel (D) of New York, a caucus member who is the No. 3 Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee.

In case the conference committee can't pull off this high-wire act, Mr. Rangel has been exploring an alternative economic plan with Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R) of Wyoming and other Senate Republicans.

"I want to see if the Republicans can make us an offer we can't refuse," Rangel says. As it stands, the offer is that Republicans would back the caucus's social programs in return for its support for indexing the capital-gains tax. Conservatives say that indexing this tax would stimulate the economy and increase federal revenues.

Both sides stress that negotiations are at a preliminary stage, and may not amount to much. An aide to Mr. Wallop says the Republican is uncomfortable with using the windfall from lower capital-gains taxes to pay for more social programs. For his part, Rangel concedes indexing capital gains "smacks of trickle-down" economics. But he says his negotiations mark a turning point: "It's historic but painful for the Black Caucus to think we can get more social justice from the Republicans than from our own party."

No matter what the outcome, the Rangel-Wallop talks put more pressure on the White House to accede to the caucus's demands. Caucus members clearly relish the prospect. They want the administration to know that their support will no longer be as automatic as the sun coming up. "People make a fatal mistake if they think we have no place to go," says an aide to Mr. Mfume.

Rep. Maxine Waters (D) of California adds that Democratic leaders should get used to the caucus charting an independent course. With its growing size and self-confidence, she says, the caucus can act like conservative Democrats who routinely buck party leaders to win concessions: "We have no permanent friends and permanent enemies. We're just like any other voting bloc."

KURDS from page 1

a frequently violent campaign against non-Germans is gaining ground.

The PKK strikes have also caused embarrassing diplomatic rows with the governments of Switzerland, Germany, and other European countries, whom Turkish officials are criticizing for failing to properly protect their missions. During a demonstration by Kurdish militants in front of the Turkish Embassy in Bern, Switzerland, one of the demonstrators was killed, allegedly by a shot fired from the Embassy. Swiss authorities asked for permission to search the Embassy, and when the demand was rejected, surrounded the building with armed policemen.

Turks see in such action signs of tolerance by some Europeans toward the PKK, straining relations between Ankara and traditionally friendly European capitals.

"This is exactly what the PKK wanted to accomplish," notes Meric Koyatasi, a popular commentator with the independent Inter-Star television network. Turkish diplomats concede that although many government leaders, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, denounce the PKK as a terrorist organization, the Kurdish militants have been able to put the Kurdish issue on Europe's agenda.

The Turkish government has insisted that the ethnic Kurds are part of a unitary state, and it regards the PKK militants as "terrorists" who can be crushed militarily. People here have only recently stopped calling Kurds "mountain Turks," and the government continues to block Kurds from operating their own radio and television stations. Only in 1991 were they allowed to use their own language, in response to continued unrest in the southeastern provinces.

The most recent incidents in the PKK's new campaign of violence involve attacks on tourist sites. An attack was mounted June 27 at Antalya, one of Turkey's finest and most popular Mediterranean resort towns.

Tourism officials are deeply worried about this new campaign. "If one or two more incidents like this take place, we are finished," complained a travel agent who has had reservations for this season canceled. Turkey expects to earn $7 billion from tourism this year, income that now appears threatened.

Analysts here say Ocalan's strategy now appears to be directed at undermining Turkey's economy as much as its security, while continuing its fighting in the southeastern provinces, where most of the country's 10 million ethnic Kurds live.

There are reports that in some towns in western Turkey, coffeehouses and shops are refusing to serve Kurdish customers.

The PKK militants have intensified their attacks in the southeast, where scores of Turkish soldiers and civilians as well as Kurdish fighters are being killed every week. The total death toll in the nine-year-old war is estimated to be more than 6,000.

But Turkish officials are adamant that Ocalan's new campaign will not succeed. The new prime minister, Tansu Ciller, reiterated June 27 the long-standing official view that Turkey will never negotiate with terrorists and will continue to fight against them until they are completely eliminated. But she said that her government will try to improve economic and social conditions in southeastern Turkey and will seek to give the ethnic Kurds more cultural freedom.

The recent escalation of violence seems to have increased both the irritation and sensitivity of the Turkish people toward the Kurds. Although an effort is being made to differentiate Kurdish militancy from the moderate demands of the Kurdish population, attacks by the PKK have provoked a backlash. There are reports that in some towns in western Turkey, coffeehouses and shops are refusing to serve Kurdish customers. In the city of Kutabya in central Turkey, a street fight broke out among Turks and Kurds following a personal quarrel between a Turkish shopkeeper and a Kurdish worker.

AZERBAIJAN from page 1

Minister Hikmet Cetin sent a letter to the United Nations stating Turkey's intentions to support the "lawful authorities" of Azerbaijan, describing the recent events as an army mutiny aimed at overthrowing the democratically elected government. In his village retreat, Elchibey receives discreet counsel from high-ranking Turkish officials late into the night.

Diplomatic sources in Moscow contrast this tough position with the passive stance of the Russian government. Recalling Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev's repeated calls for the West to support the democratically elected President Boris Yeltsin against threats of coups in Russia, "it is surprising we have not heard the same thing from the Russians themselves," says a Middle Eastern diplomat who follows the Azerbaijan situation.

The Russian Foreign Ministry statement issued on June 24 refers only to settlement of the conflict in Azerbaijan on a "constitutional basis" and warns against "foreign interference." But, counters the diplomat, "when you have troops surrounding the parliament, you cannot think that what happened in the Majlis [the parliament] is support of constitutional methods."

The Russians are widely believed to be happy with the ascension to power of Mr. Aliyev, a veteran member of the Soviet Communist Party who rose from being Azeri KGB chief and party boss to membership in the Politburo in Moscow. After being ousted in 1989, Aliyev refurbished his image as an Azerbaijani nationalist and made a comeback to as chief of his home region of Nakhichevan, an enclave separated from Azerbaijan by the territory of the former Soviet republic of Armenia.

"Why not Geidar Aliyev?" the Russian Ministry of Defense daily Red Star asked rhetorically in a June 26 article. "People need stability, firmness, and the predictability of authorities."

Accusations of Russian backing for the overthrow of Elchibey have circulated through Baku from the first moments of the clash with rebel troops on June 4. Some point to the fact that the rebel units were well armed with equipment handed over to them by departing Russian troops, although there is no proof this was a deliberate act.

The diplomatic source, echoing charges made by Elchibey supporters in Azerbaijan, suggests that Russia has an interest in blocking deals between Azerbaijan and major foreign oil companies to develop oil reserves under the Caspian Sea. The political turmoil forced postponement of the signing of a $9 billion oil deal with a consortium of foreign firms.

But Aliyev is unlikely to do Moscow's bidding. Indeed he now speaks angrily about Russian "imperialism" and is eager to demonstrate his claim to be an Azerbaijani nationalist.

Meanwhile, Elchibey's own options look bleak. If he returns to Baku, parliament has said it will impeach him for ordering the attack on the rebel garrison in Ganja. If he stays in Nakhichevan, he risks being sidelined entirely by the changes in Baku.

Elchibey remains adamant that he can return to power. "I am still confident that we can solve this crisis through democratic means," he says. "Certain measures have to be taken before I will go back to Baku and for the time being I will stay in Nakhichevan, but I will return."

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

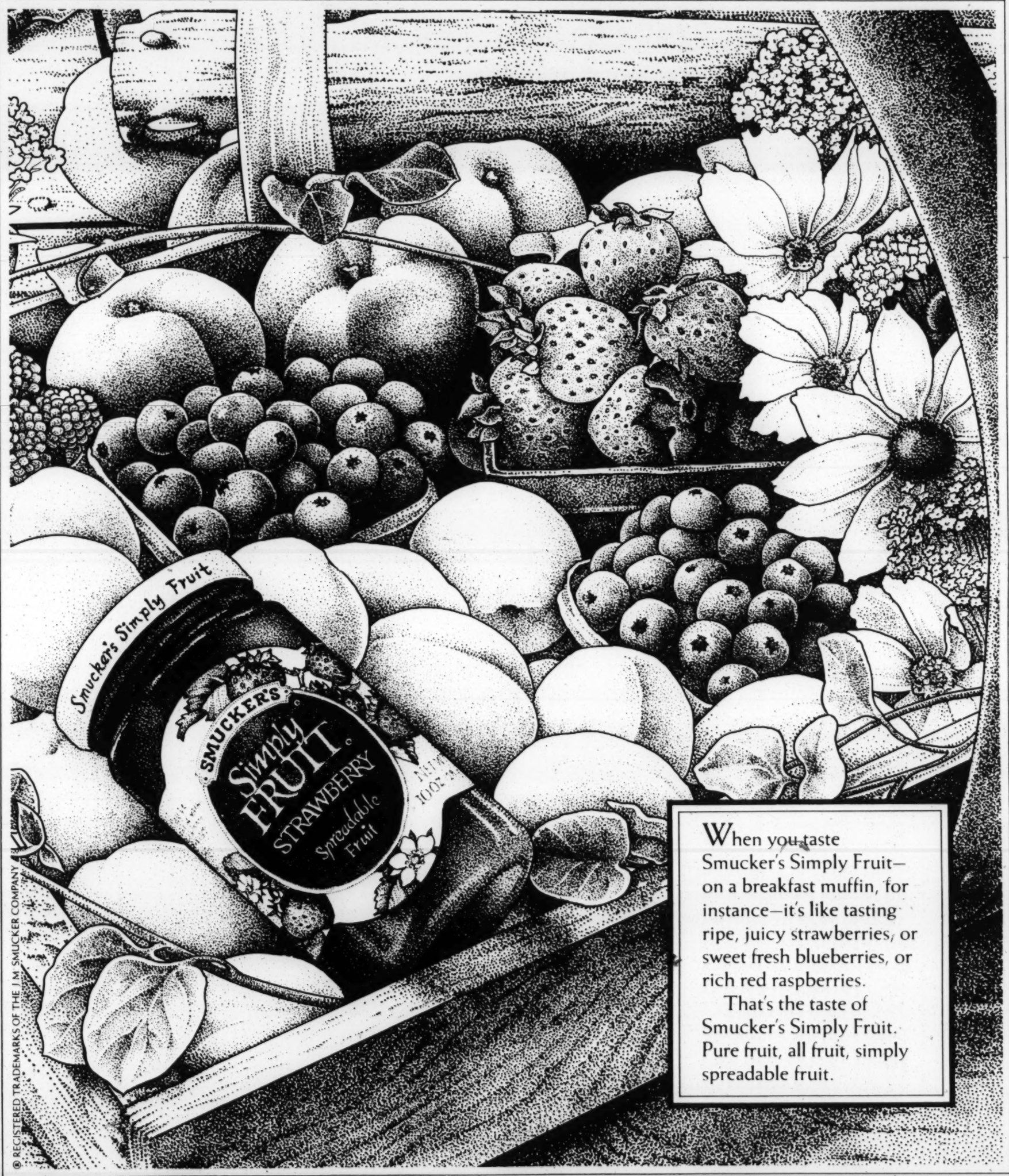
Manager: Al M. Carnesciali
Chief Operating Officer/Print: Miles M. Harbur
Circulation Manager: Ronald G. Love
Advertising Sales: Nicholas Drinker
Advertising Production: Barbara Lasker

Editor: Richard J. Cattani
Deputy Editor: Ruth Walker
DEPARTMENTS: Page 1, Gregory M. Lamb; **World,** Jane A. Lampmann; **US,** Gail Russell Chaddock; **Economy,** David R. Francis; **Features,** Lawrence J. Goodrich; **Editorials,** Peter N. Spotts; **Graphics,** John Van Pelt; **Operations,** David Stormont; **Business Manager,** Olive F. Ratcliffe

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call foll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.
Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.
ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.
MAILING LISTS: Our subscriber list is at times used by carefully screened companies and organizations. To avoid such mailings, please send a written request to the Des Moines address.
REPRINT PERMISSION: Copyright Adm., One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115 (1-800-288-7090, X2026).
POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.

JUST ABOUT THE CLOSEST THING TO FRESH FRUIT YOU'LL EVER TASTE.™

SMUCKER'S® SIMPLY FRUIT.® 100% FRUIT.



When you taste Smucker's Simply Fruit—on a breakfast muffin, for instance—it's like tasting ripe, juicy strawberries, or sweet fresh blueberries, or rich red raspberries.

That's the taste of Smucker's Simply Fruit. Pure fruit, all fruit, simply spreadable fruit.

® REGISTERED TRADEMARKS OF THE J.M. SMUCKER COMPANY

WITH A NAME LIKE SMUCKER'S, IT HAS TO BE GOOD.®

The J.M. Smucker Company • Orrville, Ohio

WASHINGTON WATCH

US High Court Curbs Scope of Civil Forfeiture

WHEN Richard Lyle Austin was caught selling cocaine from his auto-body shop near Sioux Falls, S.D., the state moved to seize both his shop and his mobile home, where drugs were found.

This was not one of the more dramatic civil forfeitures in the war on drugs, such as the brief seizure of a $2.5 million yacht in 1988 because less than one-tenth of a gram of marijuana was found in a crew member's pocket.

But the Supreme Court June 28 used the Austin case to make a landmark decision trimming the government's power to seize property. It ruled for the first time that seizing property is a form of punishment. Therefore, under the constitutional ban on excessive fines, the seizures can be disproportionate to the crime.

In a unanimous decision, the justices remanded Mr. Austin's case back to lower courts to determine whether losing his business and home, worth a total of $38,000, is excessive punishment for his crime.

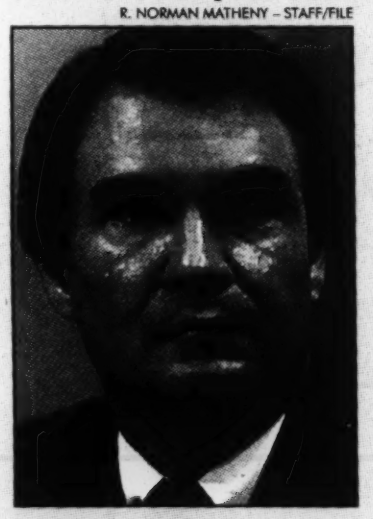
The court took similar action in a second case on June 28. Ferris Alexander was convicted of selling four magazine editions and three videotape titles, each ruled obscene, in his 13 adult entertainment stores in Minnesota. Because he was convicted of racketeering, his entire business was seized. Three tons of inventory was crushed, the vast majority of it not obscene, and $9 million in cash taken.

Mr. Alexander argued that the forfeiture violated his free-speech rights because the expressive material was destroyed. He lost that argument June 28, but the Supreme Court sent the case back to trial to determine whether the seizures amounted to excessive punishment.

Although law-enforcement agencies make millions of dollars by seizing property through forfeitures, the new decision will not hurt government in the long run, notes David Smith, a Virginia attorney and leading forfeiture expert. Rather, it will force federal authorities to drop the weaker forfeiture cases that raise controversy, he says.

■ *Marshall Ingwerson reports from Washington.*

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF/FILE



SENATOR JOHN BREAUX

Senator Breaux on budget

The only way for President Clinton to gain passage of a deficit-reduction package in both houses of Congress is to fashion a new plan and deal with the key congressional factions directly, Sen. John Breaux (D) of Louisiana told a Monitor breakfast June 29.

"I think they have to be more clear as to what they want out of the package in the conference, so that the [liberal] black caucus can compromise with the president, the [House and Senate conservatives] and others can compromise with the president, as opposed to having to compromise with each other, which I think may never occur," says Senator Breaux, a rising star in the Senate as chairman of the centrist Democratic Leadership Conference.

The packages passed by each house contain substantial differences. Topping the list is an energy tax. The House approved a Btu tax that would raise $72 billion over five years, while the Senate's transportation-fuels tax would raise only $22 billion.

"A broad-based energy tax is going to be a feature of the bill," says Breaux, also a member of the key Senate Finance Committee. "[But] I think that trying to blend it between a Btu tax and a broad-based transportation tax is not workable," he adds.

Breaux would like to see a revival of his proposed 7.3-cent-a-gallon tax on transportation fuels. "Gas would still be substantially cheaper than it was in 1990, 1980, 1970 with that addition. If there's anything we should tax, it's something that's decreasing in price."

■ *Linda Feldmann reports from Washington.*

NATIONAL

Pentagon Aims to Define Future US Force Needs

Military reductions could crimp ability to fight two wars at once

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

IT'S 1997. Iraq, its military rebuilt through Saddam Hussein's tenacity, is once again threatening to invade Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, an increasingly erratic North Korea is massing troops on its border and appears ready to strike toward Seoul.

United States armed forces are much smaller than they were in 1993, because of years of continued budget cuts. Will they be able to throw back these threats to key US allies?

This theoretical question reflects one of the most important issues being debated in the Pentagon nowadays. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have long insisted the US should have a large enough military to be able to fight two major regional wars at once. Can this capability be maintained with the force size planned by the Clinton administration?

Budget pressure, after all, is sure to force continued cuts in defense funds. A larger percentage of troops will be based in the US in coming years, as expensive overseas bases close.

One option Clinton officials have considered is dropping the two-war capability requirement. This would be replaced by a strategy called "win-hold-win" – in other words, fight and prevail in one regional conflict while stalemating a second adversary. Then quickly shift units to throw overwhelming force at the remaining fight.

Military planners, however, have worried that "win-hold-win" might serve as an excuse for lowering preparedness. In a recent speech Secretary of Defense Les Aspin appeared to back off from this option. Mr. Aspin told a crowd at Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland that he had come to the conclusion that "our forces must be able to fight and win two major regional conflicts, and nearly simultaneously."

Critics grumble that this statement is all well and good, but that the US forces left by the latter years of the decade just won't be able to do that job.

The 1997 defense budget is liable to be 40 percent smaller in real terms than it was in 1987, according to Clinton officials. The Bush administration had planned a "base force" of 1.6 million US active duty troops; Clinton officials say they will reduce that by at least 200,000.

Specific Clinton force level plans won't be known until Aspin finishes his large, ongoing bottom-up Pentagon review. But levels under consideration would be generally consistent with 10 Army active-duty divisions instead of the 12 President Bush had planned. Air Force wings would be 20, instead of Bush's base force 26.5. Aircraft carriers might be reduced from 12 to 10, although Aspin has specifically said his mind is not made up on this point.

It must be remembered that the Bush base force was itself a reduction in troops – last year the Army had 14 active-duty divisions, for instance.

Writing in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, Alan Tonelson, research director of the Economic Strategy Institute, says that while President Clinton affirms the US superpower role "he has denied the nation the military resources that role requires."

Mr. Tonelson cites congressional research figures that found that even under Bush's proposed base force, a future war the size of Desert Storm would need 66 percent of Army divisions, 50 percent of carrier battle groups, 66 percent of Air Force fighter-attack wings, and 66 percent of Marine fighting units.

Rather than bolster military budgets, Tonelson favors scaling back the definition of American interests so that the means of US forces can match the ends of US foreign policy.

A recent major study undertaken at the behest of the Air Force, however, has come to the opposite conclusion: that Clinton's forces could fight and win two big regional wars in the years 1997 and beyond.

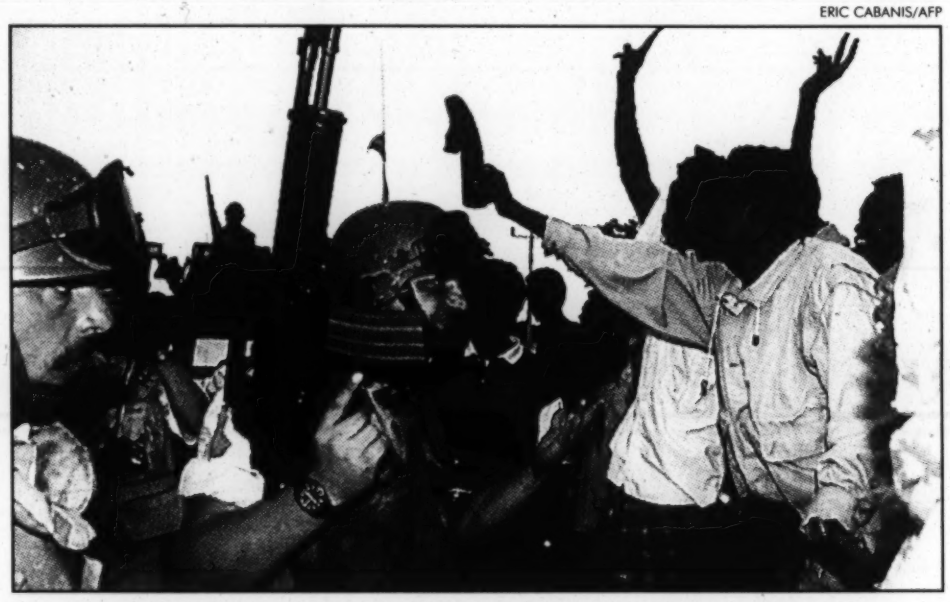
The key to US success would be adequate stocks of new high-tech munitions for aircraft and an expansion of airlift and sealift capability, says the report, which was prepared by the RAND Corporation.

The study's scenario weighed an invasion of Saudi Arabia by a revitalized Iraq and a North Korean attack on the South that begins shortly thereafter.

The wars could be won with weapons now available, but it would be a near-run thing: Iraqi forces wouldn't be stopped for nine to 14 days, until they neared the key Saudi port of Dhahran.

According to RAND, the Iraqi invasion would be stopped much more quickly if the US had on hand large numbers of new air-delivered munitions, which use their own sensors and guidance systems to seek and destroy tanks. With such "brilliant munitions" the US would be able to stop an attack force of 8,000 armored vehicles and 1,000 aircraft in a little more than a week, judges RAND.

ERIC CABANIS/AFP



SOMALIS PROTEST PRESENCE OF US AND PAKISTANI TROOPS IN MOGADISHU, SOMALIA: *Given efforts to cut the US military budget, serious questions persist about whether US troops, like these on a peacekeeping mission, will be spread too thin.*

Supreme Court Rules That 'Bizarre' Districts May Be Gerrymanders

Decision questions 1965 Voting Rights Act

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

NORTH Carolina's 12th Congressional District, which snakes along Interstate 85 from Gastonia to Durham, is so narrow at points that a driver in the northbound lane may find himself in a different district from the southbound lane. Created in 1990 to produce a majority of black voters, the district has been said to resemble a Rorschach ink-blot test or a "bug splattered on a windshield."

Now the United States Supreme Court has added its voice to the criticism, ruling that the district is "bizarre" and may be an unconstitutional racial gerrymander. The June 28 5-to-4 ruling throws into doubt the way the Justice Department has been enforcing the 1965 Voting Rights Act, designed to guarantee minorities political representation.

In 1990, the Justice Department forced North Carolina and other states to redraw their congressional districts to increase minority representation. About two dozen "majority minority" districts were created, sending 13 more blacks and six Hispanics to Congress last year. The Supreme Court's ruling may open the way for legal challenges to at least some of these districts.

"It shakes things up," says Mark Levin of the conservative Landmark Legal Foundation in Washington. "It'll have a big impact on the 2000 redistricting. The [high] court is rejecting race-based solutions in the electoral process in a big way."

Plan aimed to help blacks

The June 28 case began when the North Carolina General Assembly submitted a 1990 redistricting plan that had only one "majority minority" district. The Justice Department rejected that map, leading the state to create another largely black district that followed the squiggly course of I-85. This plan cut five counties into three districts and even divided some towns. It did, however, achieve its goal: North Carolina last year elected its first black representatives since Reconstruction – Mel Watt (D) from the 12th District and Eva Clayton (D) from the 11th.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF/FILE

FRAMINGHAM, MASS.: *Residents vote at National Guard Armory. Supreme Court's June 28 5-4 ruling in a North Carolina case opens the door to a wide range of legal challenges on how states have drawn congressional districts.*

But five white voters living in Durham, N.C., challenged the redistricting as a "racial gerrymander." In the past, federal courts have often rejected such claims. In fact, in March, the high court ruled in Voinovich v. Quilter that majority-minority districts are not barred by the Voting Rights Act.

But in this case, Shaw v. Reno, the court held that the new district was so "bizarre" that it "rationally can be viewed only as an effort to segregate the races for purposes of voting, without regard for traditional districting principles and without sufficiently compelling justification."

Such "segregation," Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote, "bears an uncomfortable resemblance to political apartheid" because it groups voters "who may have little in common with one another but the color of their skin."

The court did not rule that the North Carolina redistricting violates the 14th Amendment, which says that a state cannot "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of law." But the justices ruled that a lower court was wrong in dismissing possible 14th Amendment violations out-of-hand. In this case, and others arising from the Voting Rights Act, the justices instructed lower courts to use a strict standard of scrutiny to determine if the redistricting plan is "narrowly tailored to further a compelling governmental interest" – and hence falls within the bounds of the Constitution.

Justices Byron White, Harry Blackmun, John Paul Stevens, and David Souter produced separate dissenting opinions. But they made essentially the same points.

First, they argued that the North Carolina plan should not be struck down because the white plaintiffs have not proved that they were disenfranchised by the redistricting. Said Justice Blackmun, "The conscious use of race in redistricting does not violate the Equal Protection Clause unless the effect of the redistricting plan is to deny a particular group equal access to the political process or to minimize voting strength unduly."

'The [high] court is rejecting race-based solutions in the electoral process in a big way.'
– Mark Levin

Second, the minority argued that Justice O'Connor was creating an untenable standard by holding that "bizarre" districts may be unconstitutional while more traditional-looking districts created under the Voting Rights Act are not. "The distinction is untenable," Justice White wrote. Justice Stevens stressed that there is no constitutional requirement that districts be compact or contiguous – two factors that O'Connor says were violated by the rambling 12th District.

Lawsuits expected

There are sure to be years of litigation to resolve how broad-ranging the impact of Shaw v. Reno will be.

In his dissent, Justice Souter tried to minimize the ruling's effects. "The shape of the district at issue in this case is indeed so bizarre," he wrote, "that few other examples are ever likely to carry the unequivocal implications of impermissible use of race that the court finds here."

But Mr. Levin says the ruling "opens the door" to a host of lawsuits challenging applications of the Voting Rights Act. "What's weird or bizarre is in the eye of the beholder, but now the person who draws the boundaries will have to justify it," he says.

Survey Shows Congress Ready for Reform

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

AND the survey says ... the vast majority of members of Congress who have responded so far to a poll believe the institution needs "major improvements."

That's good news for the American electorate, which has held Congress in record low esteem over the past year.

The survey, conducted by the Congressional Research Service and the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, identified the budget process as the No. 1 area needing change, followed by committee structure and assignments, public understanding of Congress, and floor procedure and scheduling.

Only about one-fourth of the members have responded so far. But Sen. David Boren (D) of Oklahoma, co-chairman of Congress's pro-reform Joint Committee, maintains that this is a good preliminary response. He adds that the committee has heard from about half the membership, either via the survey, by letter, or in testimony at one of its 34 hearings.

Senator Boren and the other committee leaders also say they are encouraged by a retreat the panel took at the Naval Academy June 26 and 27 to talk reform. No decisions were taken at the meeting; rather, the members aired their ideas and goals.

"I certainly come away from the retreat more optimistic than ever that we are going to be able to come out with a very significant result," Boren said at a press conference June 28. "No one in either the House or the Senate from either party is satisfied with the status quo. All seem committed to the right kind of progressive change to renew and revitalize Congress, and I think that's what the people wanted us to do."

Rep. Lee Hamilton (D) of Indiana, the other committee co-chairman, said the committee expects Congress to consider reform legislation in September.

The survey showed strong support for reform in areas including:

■ The budget process. More than 70 percent of respondents favored eliminating 1 of the 3 steps: budget resolution, authorizations, and appropriations. Respondents also favored a biennial budget process with multiyear authorizations.

■ Subcommittees. About 87 percent of respondents favored reducing the number of subcommittees that standing committees set up.

■ Limiting committee assignments. House members want to be limited to two committees and two subcommittees. Senators want to limit total committee and subcommittee assignments to six. Currently, members find themselves too pressed for time to handle all their assignments.

■ Applying federal laws to themselves: Three-quarters of the respondents believe a constitutional way should be found to do this.

■ Quality time with the issues. Members complain that they don't have enough time to study and read about the issues on which they legislate. On a question regarding amount of time spent on various activities, "studying the issues" came in fifth, behind returning home to meet with constituents, attending hearings and other meetings, meeting with constituents in Washington, and meeting with colleagues, lobbyists, and government officials.

ECONOMY

McDonald's Looks Beyond Moscow

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SOLNTSEVO, RUSSIA

JURA VOLKOV, clad in a long white coat and cloth cap, leans over the steamy opening of a large, stainless steel vessel and dips a small plastic square into the brown sauce bubbling inside. Carefully, he carries the square across the room to the window, peering closely to compare the color of the sauce with that of the plastic.

Three years ago Mr. Volkov was repairing jet engines at Moscow's Vnukovo airport. Today he is monitoring production of caramel sundae toppings at McComplex, a modern food processing plant set up by McDonald's in this Moscow suburb.

"It's a prestigious company," Volkov says in reply to how an aviation mechanic ended up in the sauce and toppings department. Also, "the pay is better."

Almost from the moment McDonald's opened its doors in Moscow, the fast-food eatery has been a magnet for both would-be employees and hungry Russians. The restaurant serves between 40,000 and 50,000 customers a day, making it the busiest McDonald's in the world. The neat interior, smiling help, and what one Moscow official calls "excellent food," have made it a must-see tourist location for Russians visiting from the provinces.

New restaurant locations

In early June, McDonald's opened its second restaurant, in a new office building the company built a stone's throw from the Kremlin. And on July 3, a third location will begin business on the busy pedestrian mall in the historic Arbat district.

From the spit-polish cleanliness of the floors to the constant movement of its workers, the McDonald's factory is as much a contrast to the sloven idleness of the average Russian plant as the McDonald's restaurant is to a Russian eatery. The supply, production, and distribution operation which the company has had to create to support its restaurants is in many ways its most striking accomplishment.

McDonald's now purchases 90 percent of its supplies within the former Soviet Union, with a network of 150 suppliers. They range from iceberg lettuce growers in Sochi on the Black Sea to the providers of tomato paste and dried onions from Uzbekistan in Central Asia. McDonald's has its own fleet of trucks to get around the tangled and often dysfunctional distribution system.

Most of the supplies are raw product, such as fresh milk and beef quarters, which are then processed at the modern Solntsevo plant. With a work force of more than 520 Muscovites, the plant churns out hamburger patties, pasteurized milk, buns, frozen french fries, apple pies, and a number of other products. Its capacity is enough to supply the three restaurants and more.

Reliable suppliers

But McDonald's future expansion – including to other cities in Russia such as St. Petersburg, as well as other former republics such as Ukraine – depends on the company's efforts to turn its raw-material producers into full-scale producers and subcontractors.

The struggle to find reliable suppliers, and to encourage them to become modern producers, provides a rare example of how foreign investment in production can help transform the former Soviet republics into market economies. It is, the company proclaims, "a success story," but it is not one without its problems.

The decision to set up a processing plant – a $45 million investment – was an admission that doing business here is different. Other McDonald's around the world rely on subcontractors.

"This is the only place in the world where we manage the supplier operation," says Glen Steeves, director of the production and distribution complex. To set this up, McDonald's Restaurants of Canada, the partner in this venture with the Moscow City Government, had to call in its suppliers from around the world to help set up the factory and to evaluate potential suppliers here.

For example, McCains, the Canadian potato company which supplies McDonald's there, sent agronomists to go to collective farms and negotiate with directors about planting specially imported Russett Burbank seed for the potatoes. The potato-planting operations have expanded from 200 hectares to 700 hectare, with 10,000 tons being harvested annually on eight collective farms.

In many cases, McDonald's personnel have become involved in changing the work habits of their suppliers to meet their standards. At the dairy which supplies the milk, "we went in and showed them how to clean the cows," says Purchasing Director Mikhail Kurbanov-Osipov, one of the many Russian managers who have come up through the ranks to replace most of the original Canadian staff.

Economic reforms

Relationships with suppliers have been aided by rapid reforms in Russia since last year, including privatization of state-run industry and price liberalization. "After the release of price controls a year and half ago, we had suppliers calling us," Mr. Steeves says. McDonald's has had to cope with inflation running at more than 2,000 percent a year. But economic reforms have given it the freedom to make direct deals with collective farms, slaughterhouses, and the like.

McDonald's management has sorted out the entrepreneurial types among its suppliers and encouraged them to gradually take on production tasks. An example is Anatoly Revyakin, a former deputy director of a Moscow area "sovkhoz" (state farm) supplying vegetables to the Kremlin elite, who now dreams of becoming the Heinz of Russia.

McDonald's met Mr. Revyakin four years ago when it purchased cucumbers from his state farm. "About a year ago, when it became clear that McDonald's was expanding and would need additional production, I rented out premises from the sovkhoz and started an independent enterprise," Revyakin says. Buying the cucumbers from the farm, Revyakin now pickles them for McDonald's.

"The first thing it was necessary to teach was how to clean the floor and clean hands, then standard production, then consistency of quality," says Mikhail Oleisker, a former bakery manager who runs the effort to transform raw product suppliers to processors. "In Russian enterprises if the product is different, it's nothing because the market is able to take anything. Then we had to teach him how to spend his money better, how to keep books, how to set prices."

The pickle operation has come far enough for McDonald's to send a batch for testing for possible use in McDonald's restaurants in Central Europe and Germany.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

MOSCOW: *An army of cashiers takes orders behind the counter of the fast-food giant. The restaurant serves between 40,000 and 50,000 customers a day, making it the busiest McDonald's in the world and a must-see for tourists.*

MANY AMERICANS SUPPORT HIGHER 'SIN' TAXES

NEW YORK

■ A large majority of Americans favor higher taxes on tobacco and alcohol to reduce the federal deficit, but balk at paying more taxes for gasoline, according to a consumer survey by the Conference Board in New York.

More than 70 percent of the 5,000 households contacted would like to see higher taxes on tobacco and alcohol, with the strongest support coming from older and more affluent Americans. Only 17 percent of the respondents support higher taxes on gasoline and higher tax rates on home mortgage deductions.

MORE AMERICANS WEAR CLOTHES THAT CARRY IMPRINTED ADS

IRVING, TEXAS

■ Americans apparently like being walking billboards.

The Specialty Advertising Association International in Irving, Texas, says that each year wearable items imprinted with company logos and messages become a bigger part of its members' business. In 1992, 22.4 percent of all promotional products its members sold were items such as T-shirts, baseball caps, jackets, or sunglasses carrying an advertiser's message and then given away free.

HOUSING VALUES TIED TO TOP SCHOOL DISTRICTS

ROCHESTER, WIS.

■ Good school districts help keep the market value of homes in the area high, according to Runzheimer International, a Rochester, Wis., consulting firm.

"It's like owning beach-front property," says William Bainbridge, president of SchoolMatch, a school information service in Westerville, Ohio. "Communities served by quality school districts are least likely to experience erosion of property values over the long term."

BRING OUT THE BEEF ON JULY 4

WASHINGTON

■ Along with fireworks and parades, lots of Americans love a good, juicy burger cooked on the grill on July 4. Americans consume 20 percent more beef on Independence Day than on an average day, according to the Washington-based National Cattlemen's Association. On a typical day, about 62.5 million pounds of beef are consumed, but on July 4 it is 75 million pounds.

The issue of supplying french fries to an American fast-food chain reveals bigger debate over Israeli trade policy

McDonald's Wages A French-Fry Battle

By Peter Ford
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JERUSALEM

TIRING of its fight against Israeli trade restrictions, fast-food giant McDonald's has taken the war into enemy territory to challenge a kibbutz-owned monopoly on frozen french fries.

The local McDonald's franchisee announced last week that the company has struck a deal with local entrepreneurs to build a new factory that will produce french fries just the way the Golden Arches likes them.

The surprise decision caps several months of noisy controversy here over McDonald's application for a government permit to import company-approved french fries for its first restaurant in Israel, due to open in the last quarter of this year in a Tel Aviv suburb.

The application ran into fierce opposition from Tapud, the only Israeli manufacturer of french fries, the 13 kibbutzes that own and supply the factory, and their allies in the Agriculture Ministry. Their demands for protection from foreign competition were successful at a recent Cabinet committee meeting.

That such an apparently mundane issue as supplying french fries to a hamburger chain should have been raised in the Israeli Cabinet illustrates the virulence of the local debate over Israeli trade policy, as the Labor Party government, led by Yitzhak Rabin, takes its first tentative steps toward economic liberalization.

"We have lots of discussion in the government, but I believe that there will be a change in the structure of our economy when we finish our plan" for trade liberalization, says Finance Minister Avraham Shohat.

The plan was launched nine months ago, when the authorities abolished the old system of licenses for industrial imports from areas outside the United States, the European Community, and the European Free Trade Association, with which Israel has signed trade deals in the past.

If the effects have yet to be felt in Israeli shops, explains Zoar Perry, deputy director-general of the Trade and Industry Ministry, it is because "initially we have imposed tariffs of up to or more than 100 percent, which is equivalent to the previous restrictions."

But those tariffs will be cut over the next five years to a maximum of 10 percent, he says, obliging local industrial producers to compete on an almost equal footing with foreign suppliers.

No such challenge is in store, however, for the farmers on Israel's collectivist kibbutzes or its cooperatives, which dominate agricultural output in a country where no farmland is privately owned.

In Israel's agricultural sector, protectionism is as rife as it is in the US or Europe. Growers say much of this is because the high cost of water, even when it is subsidized by the government, makes open competition with farmers in more temperate climates impossible.

It is this protectionism that has led to the great french-fry debate. While McDonald's has abandoned the import battle, another locally owned hamburger chain, Burger Ranch, has taken its fight to the Supreme Court, and Pizza Hut is considering a legal challenge to the government's refusal to let it import mozzarella for half the price it has to pay locally.

'If the government were to grant the permit to import french fries, it would not end with McDonald's.'
– Aaron Niv, Tapud managing director

"You look at the business, and you say ... this is a big chunk of my costs, and I could pass the savings on to my customers," says Pizza Hut spokesman Gadi Granot.

The opposing view, expressed by Tapud managing director Aaron Niv, rests on the social concerns that have long driven Israeli economic policy. "If the government were to grant the permit to import french fries, it would not end with McDonald's," he warns.

"It would be a precedent. It could even lead us to close the factory, and 100 jobs in a poor development town would be lost," he says.

With the new competing factory not expected to come on line for another year, McDonald's faces a fries shortfall for a few months once its restaurant has opened. The company is still petitioning the government to permit imports to cover that period.

The Cabinet's decision will indicate which way the government is going as it "wavers between policies," says Zeev Golan, an economist at the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, a pro-free enterprise Jerusalem think tank. "On the one hand, it is afraid to break free from its old socialist bonds, and on the other, it is fully aware that it has to open up."

"It is inevitable that they are on the road to a free market," Mr. Golan adds. "But sometimes it is a case of one step forward and two backwards."

EUROPEAN BANK SHAKE-UP

Hard Questions for EBRD After President Resigns

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

THE sudden resignation of Jacques Attali from the presidency of the fledgling European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is posing tough choices for EBRD's multinational board of directors.

The directors' first problem is choosing a successor to Mr. Attali, who quit June 25 amid allegations of lax management and overspending on foreign travel and unnecessary frills at the bank's London headquarters.

EBRD's so-far sluggish performance as a lender to the former communist states of Eastern Europe also is under critical scrutiny, only three years after it came into existence. Banking analysts forecast that the 23-member board will appoint an interim president while questions about EBRD's past and future activities are asked and answered.

The battle over who will succeed Attali as long-term head of EBRD, the analysts say, will be fought between the governments of Britain, France, and other European countries, with the United States (the bank's biggest shareholder) an active participant.

When EBRD was launched in 1990, there were high hopes that it could play a vigorous role in providing funds to European countries emerging from communist control into an era of free enterprise. Attali, a former aide to French President François Mitterrand, with no banking experience, was asked to channel 60 percent of the bank's £7 billion (US$10.45 billion) loan fund into private-sector schemes.

A slow start

Under its flamboyant head, EBRD got off to a slow start. Earlier this year, an internal report complained that the bank had "failed to make a coherent contribution" to economic transition in Eastern Europe. Attali told the bank's directors that identifying suitable private enterprise projects in Eastern Europe was proving difficult.

In April, he came under heavy criticism when it was revealed that EBRD had disbursed only £100 million in loans and equity, but had spent twice that amount on its London headquarters, including £750,000 on a marble entrance hall. Money also was spent on luxurious office furnishings and flights by private jet taken by the president and his staff. Stung by the criticisms, Attali ordered that in the future his staff should travel by scheduled airliner. He resigned last week after admitting that he had been reimbursed twice for a first-class air fare to Tokyo.

Henning Christophersen, the European Community's economics commissioner and former Danish finance minister, is a leading contender to succeed Attali long term. Mr. Christophersen has told friends that he wants the job. Another possibility is Otto Pôhl, former president of Germany's Bundesbank.

Last weekend, however, Alain Juppe, the French finance minister, said France had a "moral right" to hold the presidency. Other French politicians said Attali had been a victim of an Anglo-Saxon conspiracy.

Anne Wibble, Sweden's finance minister and chairman of EBRD's board of governors, has started looking for a temporary president. Her preference was reported on June 29 to be Claes de Neergaard, the bank's Swedish director. But he was said to be unacceptable to EBRD executives who want Italy's Mario Sarcinelli to play the interim role.

Overly cautious

Michael Hodges, an international banking specialist at the London School of Economics, says that Attali and his management team were "a bit too careful" in the bank's start-up phase and should have been prepared to take more risks in disbursing funds. Mr. Hodges is critical of Attali's management style, which he calls "pseudo-intellectual" and "abrasive." "What is needed is an experienced, practical banker who can get on with people," Hodges says.

A major problem facing the new EBRD president, one of the bank's executives says, will be identifying suitable projects in the 25 countries in the bank's target area. Of 95 projects approved since EBRD's launch, more than half have been in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak republics.

Attali himself correctly analyzed part of the problem, the EBRD executive says. "Too many of the target countries need infrastructure development before private investment can flourish," he says. "Attali wanted more money to go into infrastructure, but met resistance from the US, Britain, and other countries." EBRD sources say Attali's personal style did not help him when he had to argue a case with hard-headed government ministers.

There is, however, a problem about paying more attention to infrastructure projects. EBRD was conceived as a "niche" lending institution. Its £7 billion available for lending seems minute compared with the £2,800 billion investment Attali has said will be needed to put the former communist economies on their feet. In 1990, most of the founder nations argued against heavy concentration on infrastructure, which is a feature of World Bank activities.

Before Attali resigned, he proposed a management shake-up, including the appointment of Ernest Stern, deputy head of the World Bank, to a new post of chief executive.

If Mr. Stern's appointment goes through, EBRD insiders say, it will be a sign that the bank will begin concentrating more heavily on infrastructure projects, particularly in Russia.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

PRESERVING LIGHT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

Ravages of tides, currents, and time have put a host of lighthouses at risk, including the Cape Hatteras lighthouse in Buxton, N.C.

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BUXTON, N.C.

LIGHTHOUSES are one of man's most positive structures.

They are built to save lives, guide seamen, and light up the darkness. No wonder they inspire a kind of awe. Everybody loves a lighthouse.

But here, along the United States' eastern seaboard, several lighthouses are perched perilously close to the advancing waves. If something is not done, they will likely fall into the ocean. The US government and many private groups are trying to save them. But figuring out how to do that is not easy. It means coming to terms with the forces of nature.

The most dramatic activity this year is taking place on Block Island, 20 miles off the coast of Rhode Island. There, man has decided to retreat. Engineers are digging up the island's historic lighthouse, jacking up all 2,000 tons of it, and moving it 250 feet away from the shoreline. The project is expected to last through September.

Other lighthouses are also threatened by the sea. A group has formed to try to save the Cape Cod lighthouse near North Truro, Mass. To the south, the tide is slowly moving in on the Nauset Lighthouse and on Nantucket Island's Sankaty Lighthouse.

But it is here, on the sandy Outer Banks of North Carolina, that man and nature have fought the longest and most interesting battle to save the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse.

"It's quite a saga," says Orrin Pilkey, director of the Program for the Study of Developed Shoreline at Duke University. "People think they're too great to be beaten by the sea.... [But] you're not going to stop the shoreline eroding. We're going to lose."

If anything, the mood here at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore is upbeat. On May 28, the National Park Service reopened the lighthouse to the public. For the first time in nine years, tourists can again climb to the top of the newly refurbished structure.

"The public interest in that is just astounding," says Chris Eckard, park historian for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. "Tell people that they can climb the Cape Hatteras lighthouse and their faces just light up."

Perhaps it is the size of the thing. Hatteras is the tallest lighthouse in the US, stretching 208 feet high – the equivalent of a 20-story building. Its big black candy stripe has made it a famous landmark.

Feelings run strong

"To some people, it's religious," says Wayne Wheeler, president of the United States Lighthouse Society. "It's the light against the darkness. The sea is dangerous and the darkness – allegorical evil. And there's that light pointing the way. [To others] it's that picket fence, that last vestige of civilization before people went off" to sea.

"There's a certain aura about that Grand Lady that strikes a sense of romance," agrees Mary Collier, management assistant for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. "The very fact that it's imperiled by the sea, I think, draws a certain sentiment from the visitors."

Every day since the lighthouse reopened, tourists have clambered up Hatteras's 268 steps to take in the view and, maybe, to see how far the sea has encroached.

"We planned this trip 30 years ago," says Sandra Oates, a Tennessean whose first venture to the Outer Banks was postponed by an illness in the family. "How many feet did we lose?"

"We have been reading all that stuff" about the erosion, adds her sister, Laurie Swenson. "It doesn't look too imminent to me."

Indeed, the Cape Hatteras lighthouse looks safe behind its large protective dune and 50 feet of beach. To some old-timers, the threat to Hatteras is hype and old hat.

"It's nothing new," says Rany Jennette, a park ranger and the son of the last lighthouse keeper at Hatteras, Unaka Jennette. As a boy, Mr. Jennette remembers 300 feet of beach.

But in the mid-1930s, a huge storm pushed waves to the base of the lighthouse. The structure's demise seemed so imminent that the Coast Guard abandoned it in 1936 and put a light on a skeleton steel structure one mile northwest. Then the unexpected happened. The erosion stopped.

By 1950, the shoreline seemed so stable that the Coast Guard returned to the structure. Jennette is convinced the lighthouse is safe. "It's not going anywhere soon," he says, "not in my lifetime, anyway."

Oceanographers disagree. "The lighthouse is in imminent danger," Mr. Pilkey says. "No question that the right storm will take it, even if there's a giant wall there."

Two threats loom over Hatteras. One is storms. Although hurricanes draw the most attention, it is the region's northeasters that do the most damage. Cape Hatteras has an average 34 such storms a year.

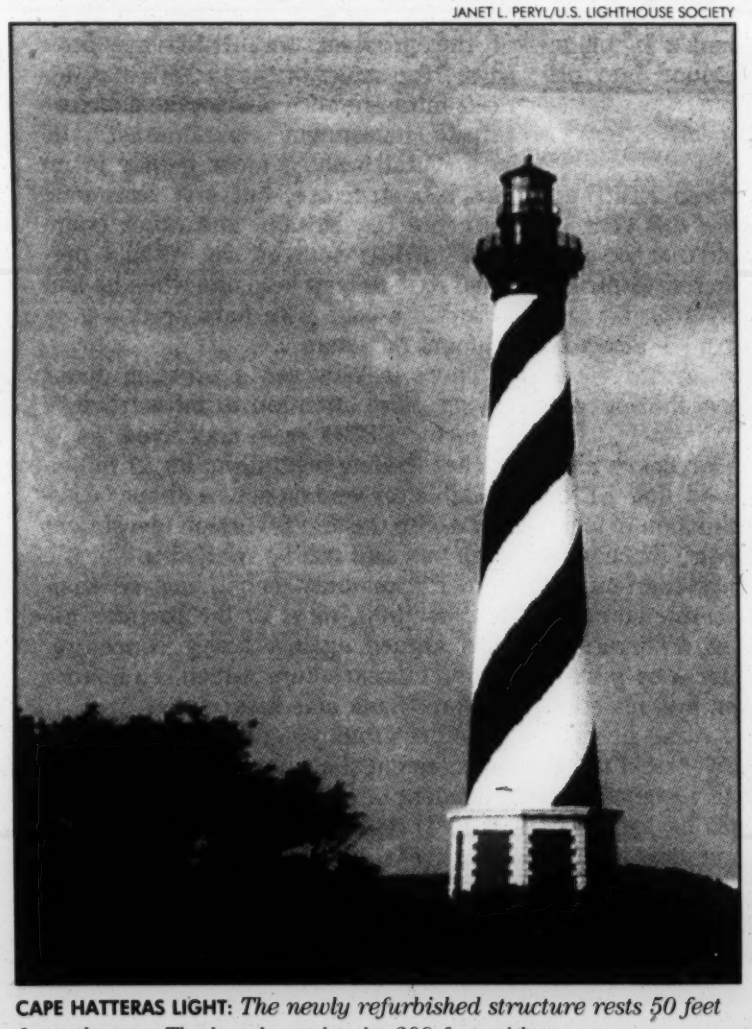
The second threat is the relative sea level. For reasons oceanographers do not fully understand, the world's oceans are rising while, on the East Coast at least, the shoreline is sinking.

Combine those two forces and the Atlantic coast's relative sea level is rising about one foot a century.

It does not help that Hatteras has some of the highest wave energy anywhere along the East Coast. The Outer Banks is losing an average three feet of shoreline a year to erosion, Pilkey says. Some places are losing 10 feet a year; some are not losing any. And all this has happened in a geological era of relative stability.

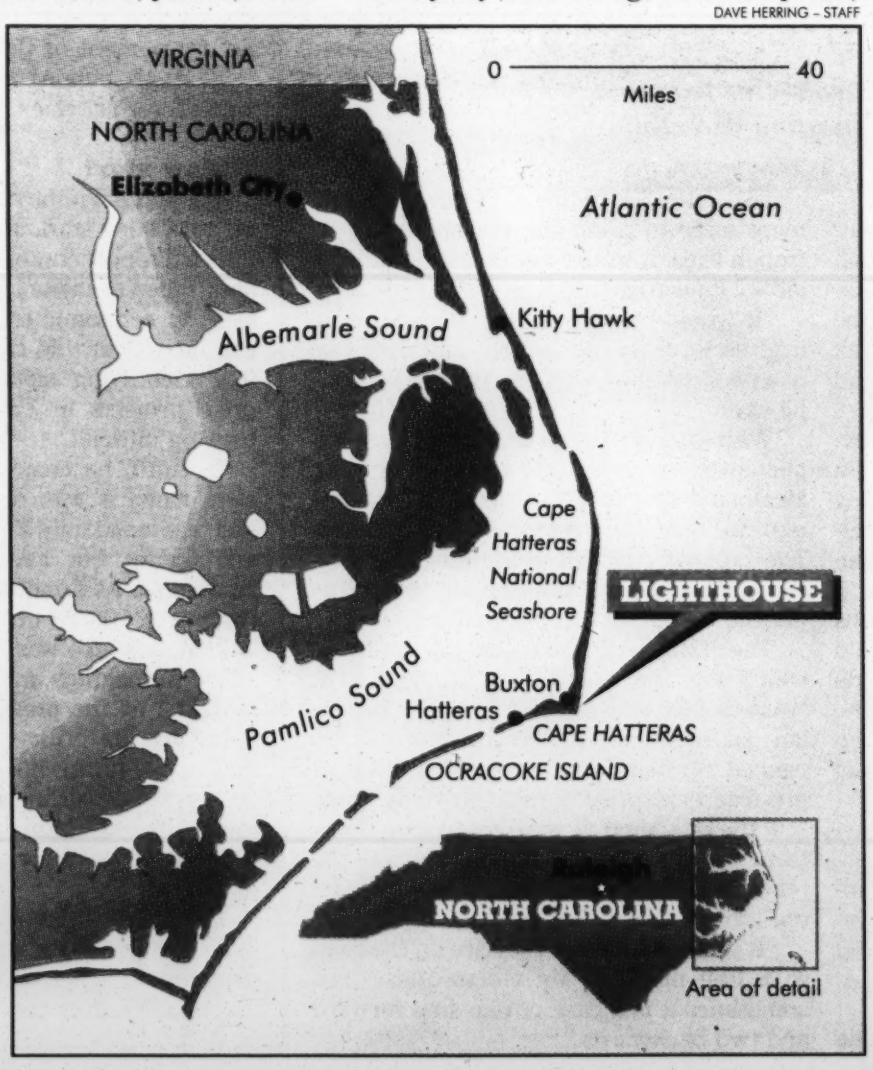
Ever since the peak of the last glacial age, roughly 20,000 years ago, the Outer Banks have migrated toward the coast. About 4,000 years ago, the process slowed down.

JANET L. PERYL/U.S. LIGHTHOUSE SOCIETY



CAPE HATTERAS LIGHT: *The newly refurbished structure rests 50 feet from the sea. The beach used to be 300 feet wide.*

DAVE HERRING – STAFF



U.S. LIGHTHOUSE SOCIETY

BLOCK ISLAND LIGHTHOUSE: *This structure, 20 miles off the coast of Rhode Island, is being moved 250 feet from the shoreline to protect it from advancing erosion.*

Now Pilkey sees signs that the erosion is speeding up. The inner as well as the outer shoreline of the islands is eroding.

For years, the US government has tried to protect the Hatteras Island's existing shoreline. It has built groins, pumped new sand onto the beach, put up sandbag barriers, and overseen the installation of artificial seaweed. Some of these measures have slowed the erosion. Nothing has stopped it.

Long-term plans

So in the 1980s, the National Park Service asked the National Academy of Sciences to come up with a long-term solution. The academy recommended moving the lighthouse. Last year, the Park Service hired a Washington, D.C., engineering firm to draw up plans to move the lighthouse 2,500 feet southwest of its current location.

The planning will take a few years, Ms. Collier says. And the Park Service has decided not to move the lighthouse until the risk of leaving it in its current location outweighs the risk of moving it.

That plan seems to suit the growing number of lighthouse lovers.

"We like to see things *in situ* wherever possible," says Mr. Wheeler of the San Francisco-based Lighthouse Society. But "let's not have it destroyed."

Some locals, however, oppose the move.

"You let 'em come in and try to move it," threatens Carol Dillon, who traces her roots here back to a shipwrecked seaman in the late 1600s. "That's part of our heritage and we don't want to see some idiots come in and have a big pile of black and white bricks" on their hands.

She also worries about the environmental impact of the move.

If the lighthouse moves, the Park Service will not necessarily keep up its efforts to protect the existing shoreline. Mrs. Dillon, who owns the Outer Banks Motel, has already seen storms destroy six of her cottages and cause more than $1 million in damages – most of it uninsured.

"I would rather have an honorable death than to have man tear it apart," she says of the lighthouse. There is plenty of precedent for that. Until the early '70s, man let the sea take several lighthouses, including the first Hatteras lighthouse – a 90-foot structure built in 1803.

Ever since the 16th century, when Europeans began sailing up and down the American coast, seamen have clamored for a lighthouse on Hatteras. The problem for sailors was that, at Hatteras, the Gulf Stream pinches in on a colder countercurrent, known as the Virginia Coastal Drift. That forced southbound ships into a narrow channel near the treacherous Diamond Shoals – constantly shifting arms of underwater sand. Even with a lighthouse, so many ships sunk off Hatteras that it became known as the "Graveyard of the Atlantic." Wrecks include everything from Spanish gold ships to the Civil War's iron-clad Monitor.

'You're not going to stop the shoreline eroding. We're going to lose.'

– Orrin Pilkey of Duke University

"It's the opposite of what a lighthouse should be," concedes Mr. Eckard, the park historian. But many more ships would have gone down had it not been for the lighthouse. After the Civil War, the original lighthouse was so damaged that Congress agreed to pay for a new one. The ocean has covered the remains of the first.

Ships do not really need lighthouses to navigate anymore. Advances in radar and satellite technology have relegated lighthouses to a secondary role in navigation. But the Coast Guard still lights them, including the Hatteras lighthouse. It sends out a flash every 7.5 seconds, which is visible 20 miles out on a clear night.

Joe Jakubik, who supervised the refurbishing of the Hatteras lighthouse, thinks the structure deserves to be saved anyway. "It should not be allowed to fall in the sea," he says. "By all means, I'd say, move it."

Mr. Jakubik and his company, International Chimney based in Williamsville, N.Y., are also involved in moving the Block Island lighthouse. Moving Hatteras lighthouse, he adds, would be tough but doable.

Up here at the top of the lighthouse, where beach and ocean stretch for miles in every direction, it is hard to disagree with him. The wind blows so hard that Gloria Marshall has a tough time holding onto her hat. She is one of the many new Park Service volunteers working here since the lighthouse opened in May.

"Since we have interfered with nature, I guess it's going to be difficult not to fight the battle," she says philosophically. "People from Ohio and way across the country come here and seem to show the same concern as if it belonged to them. And I guess, in a way, it does."

COMMUNITY

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF/FILE

SHEEP STATION: *Because of the drought, sheep that would have munched on grass have to be fed purchased grain. Some farmers, unable to sell their property, are simply walking off the land.*

Wool Woes Worry Aussie Sheep Farmers

Lower prices, drought, other troubles change lifestyle of families depending on profits 'off the sheep's back'

By Catherine Foster
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

FENCES are falling down. Hired hands' cabins lie vacant. And some of the newly shorn sheep sliding down the chutes are too weak to get up right away when they hit the ground.

These are small indications of the crisis that has hit the wool industry here. Prosperity for Australian farmers has come "off the sheep's back." But a confluence of events – crashing global economies, drought, and industrial restructuring – has caused a major disruption in this way of life.

Prices have fallen below the cost of production because of oversupply and weak demand. Australian wool's export income dropped from $6 billion in 1989 to $3.4 billion in 1992, as major importers like Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union stopped buying. A huge stockpile racks up big storage bills.

"There's no new building going on, no new sheds going up," says Strath Sendall, over a big farm breakfast of lamb chops and fried tomatoes. "In the farming industry nobody's buying any new machinery. They're repairing their old stuff, which is affecting the manufacture of new machinery and retail selling of machinery."

CATHERINE FOSTER

SHEEP MEN: *Strath (left) and Roger Sendall show off one of their animals. The Australian government estimates the average wool producer lost $33,660 last year, causing land prices to fall dramatically.*

He and his wife, Margaret, and their son, Roger, own a 300-acre station outside the tiny town of Wee Waa. With 10,000 sheep and 400 cattle, they are making adjustments to make ends meet.

They have put in a vegetable garden to save money on food. Five months ago, they had to let several higher-paid staff go and hired cheaper "jackaroos" – young men.

Land prices fell

In hindsight, Mr. Strath says, the government's 1974 reserve-price scheme for wool was a mistake. "When it came in, we were all very happy about it," he says. "Everybody knew if they produced wool they'd get a return. So more people went into wool growing. The wool, on average, became inferior, because you knew you would get paid for inferior-type wool."

With the collapse in wool prices, land prices have also fallen dramatically. "People who want to sell, can't sell," Strath says. "So they've got to stay there and survive the best they can."

Mrs. Strath says she sees the effects of the crisis ripple throughout the community. Schools shrink. Older people who had expected to turn over farms to their children and retire find they have to keep working. Women of 50 and 60 now do the hard work that hired men used to do.

Some areas of northwest New South Wales and central Queensland have also been hit by a year-long drought.

Sheep that once would have munched on grass that grew as tall as fences have to be fed purchased grain. The Australian Bureau of Agriculture and Resource Economics estimates the average wool producer lost $33,660 last year. Some farmers, unable to sell their property, are simply walking off the land.

Huge stockpile created

Some blame government policies. Through its marketing authority, the Australian Wool Corporation (AWC), set a fixed floor price for wool in 1974 to smooth out fluctuations in the market. As prices skyrocketed in the late 1980s, the AWC raised the support price. Established farmers increased flocks, and others flooded into the industry.

'Unless you've got people with a little faith and the will to put their back into it and have a go.... You just gotta keep going and hope it will turn around....'

– Wally Denyer, sheep rancher

When prices fell, the reserve price did not. The AWC bought up unsold wool, creating a huge stockpile. The support-price scheme was abandoned in February 1991, but the stockpile, now at 3.9 million bales, remains. Growers, whose taxes pay to maintain the stockpile, have been left holding the bag, so to speak.

Weaker producers are being shaken out of the industry, Strath says. Those left will produce better wool. In hindsight, "people will say that taking away the reserve price will benefit the Australian wool industry in the long term," he says, "but in the short term, we're in real trouble."

Extra feeding deferred

The government recently announced an assistance plan for wool farmers. Adam Sevil, the Sendalls' neighbor, says without it, he would go under. Mr. Sevil, who is also in the midst of shearing his flock in a hot tin shed, says he, like many others, put off giving supplemental feed to his sheep, hoping that rain would come and revive pasture land.

[Recent weeks have brought some welcome rain to the region.]

"I should have started feeding them about a month ago," he says, eyeing the scrawny lambs being shorn. "I've already started to feed them, but lambs, because they haven't fed for quite awhile, they'll take awhile to get going. And I'll lose the weak ones. It's better to get the wool off them now."

Family farm 'unviable'

Tommy Williams, the shearing contractor, scoops up freshly shorn wool and tosses it into various bins. "A couple of years ago we had two and three teams working," he says. "Last week, we had two days' work, and one of my teams was down."

Cathy and Wally Denyer, who live about 14 miles away, bought two adjoining properties for their son when he graduated from college. But interest rates shot up from 13 to 23 percent, and the family got in a financial hole. Interest rates are down now, but so are their savings. What's worse, the government has assessed their farm as "unviable."

"How can some bureaucrat in Canberra know who is viable just by reading numbers?" Mrs. Denyer protests, sitting on the veranda as the occasional car whizzes by on the road. "They need to look at the farm." Mr. and Mrs. Denyer say they will reapply to change their farm's designation.

There's a drought this year; there was a flood last year. The Denyers had to buy feed for their 5,000 sheep during both. Now they may have to sell their 100 head of cattle, wiping out breeding stock they've had for 25 years. "It's the unknown and the uncertainty that affects your everyday life," Mrs. Denyer says. "The women really seem to be depressed and down in the dumps. I think we can't all be sold up and made to go. My husband's now 53. He left school at 14 and so what could he do?"

Mr. Denyer is out fixing fences. He looks at his sheep, dots of white on the vast expanse of dry brown land. "These stock walking around are nearly worthless," he says. "We might get $2 a head for them, and we're spending that on them per month just to keep them alive. The outlook's not real good, but if we lose face and give up, well, the whole country goes down, too. Unless you've got people with a little faith and the will to put their back into it and have a go.... You just gotta keep going and hope it will turn around, that's all."

His wife adds: "You can't get shot for trying can you?"

BOOKS

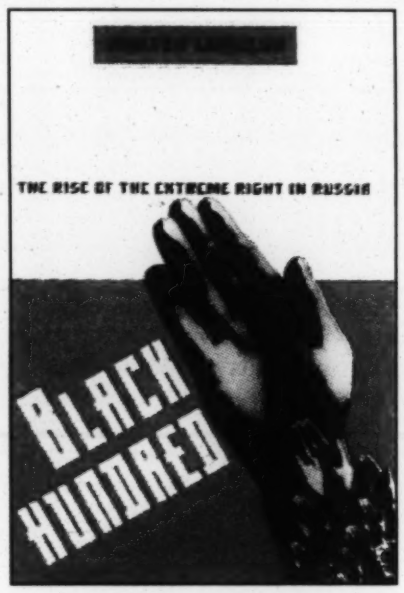
The Rising Far Right in Russia

By Peter Reddaway

THE subject matter of Walter Laqueur's pioneering new book, "Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia," is a phenomenon that is less marginal in today's Russia than the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society are in the United States.

The book helps to explain much that is otherwise inexplicable: why, for example, the Russian right has been sending hundreds of volunteers to help its Serbian brothers in their task of "ethnic cleansing" and why the weak government of President Boris Yeltsin has scarcely tried to inhibit them from doing so.

The hard-right groups that Laqueur describes favor authoritarianism, a strong state, collective rather than individual values, and a much larger Russia than the reduced one of today. They believe in the existence of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy aimed at subverting the Russian state and culture, and implemented mostly by the US, Israel, and the West. They hold that these countries and their agents – Yeltsin's government and most of Russia's intelligentsia – suffer from a Russophobia so acute that it motivates them to destroy Russian civilization.



BLACK HUNDRED: THE RISE OF THE EXTREME RIGHT IN RUSSIA
By Walter Laqueur
HarperCollins
317 pp., $27.50

By contrast, most of the moderate conservatives, whom Laqueur briefly discusses, contend that democracy is admirable in principle, but that each country has to find the institutions that accord with its history and traditions.

Laqueur is concerned mainly with the ideas, not the actions of the various groups on the extreme right, and with the roots of these ideas in the Russian and the European past, and in the philosophy of the contemporary "Nouvelle Droite" in France.

Thus, Laqueur examines the origins in the 19th century of the belief that Russia has a manifest destiny and mission different from and superior to those of the West. He shows how the ultra-right "Black Hundred" movement emerged at the turn of the century and, with generous government financing, supported the czar, attacked his opponents, and organized pogroms against the Jews. He describes the complex processes that led to the forging of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which purported to expose global Jewry's plans to rule the world. And he demonstrates the support received by the radical right from powerful elements in the Orthodox Church.

With the collapse of czarism and the rise of Bolshevism, Laqueur traces the development of these trends after they had been forced into exile abroad. He shows how Stalin made Marxism more palatable to some Russians by incorporating into it elements of nationalism. Also, from the early 1960s, the Communist rulers developed anti-Semitism in public by issuing thousands of ostensibly anti-Zionist publications attacking Jews. Simultaneously, a moderate Russian nationalism was allowed to appear in works of fiction.

All this helps to explain how, when Mikhail Gorbachev allowed freedom of political organization to reemerge in 1987-88, Russian conservatism surfaced in many of its old forms. Last year, for example, Gen. Viktor Filatov, the editor of The Journal of Military History, and Sergei Baburin, a leading parliamentarian, expressed a view widely held on the right, namely that the US Congress, obeying Zionist commands, decided in the mid-1980s to select Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, and others to carry out its orders to destroy the Soviet Union.

Laqueur examines each of the main currents that have emerged on the extreme right, and shows some of the linkages. Central is the "Red-Brown" coalition, made up of Communists like those who carried out the August 1991 coup, of conservative nationalists, and of proto-fascists and fascists. More particular currents are assorted monarchists; more numerous and dangerous Cossacks; the fractious "Pamyat" groups; and Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the fascist who got 8 percent of the vote when he ran against Yeltsin in 1991.

Laqueur does not discuss the activities of the hard-line groups in the Russian parliament. But he does venture the overall assessment that the present political strength of the extreme right is small. He also quotes the eminent historian Dmitri Likhachev, who sees nationalism as "the greatest of human misfortunes": "It lives in the shadows and only pretends to be based on love for one's country. But in fact it is spawned by malice and hatred for other nations and for those people in one's own nation who do not share these nationalistic views."

Laqueur bends over backwards throughout the book to be fair and understanding about the dilemmas of people caught up in a succession of national traumas. He writes with clarity, directness, and – to lighten the mood – occasional irony. On the other hand, the fragmented nature of his subject and the collaboration of a co-author, Valeri Solovei, make it hard to avoid repetition and some awkward transitions. And the quality of the book's editing and proofreading is lamentable.

Looking to the future, Laqueur says that while the current situation favors "the emergence of a strong populist movement gravitating to the far right," the hard-liners do not yet have a strong leader or a convincing enough program to take advantage of this opening. The near-term future may belong to less extreme politicians who can blend elements of socialism and nationalism, he says. Even though he does not foresee the rule of outright fascism in Russia, he says that the Germany of Versailles and Weimar may ultimately provide at least a partial analogy.

■ *Peter Reddaway, professor of political science at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., is the former director of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies.*

ARTS

Thyssen Works Enrich Madrid Art Scene

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
MADRID

AN American visitor is apt to be pleasantly surprised when he enters Room 29 of the Thyssen-Bornemisza's 19th-century painting collection.

Dominating one wall is "Fishing Party on Long Island Sound off New Rochelle," by American painter James Goodwyn Clonney. The delightful scene of a lazy afternoon amid natural beauty exudes the idealism and innocence that typified that century's North American painters.

Coming upon the picture – and the many others that surround it, including works by Frederic Church, John Singleton Copley, Thomas Cole, and a Gilbert Stuart portrait of a black woman presumed to be George Washington's cook – can have the effect of an awakening not only because it follows rooms of stunning European painting of very different feeling and impact. The surprise comes from the fact that the viewer is seeing this distinctly American vision of 19th-century romanticism in Europe.

"I don't know of any other European museum with such a large and complete collection of American 19th-century painting," says Tomàs Llorens, the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum's chief curator. "What that says is that internationalism and a desire to bring together the best from everywhere were very much at the center of this project."

That project is the renowned art collection assembled in this century by two generations of the Thyssen-Bornemisza family. Earlier this month the Spanish government announced that it had completed negotiations to purchase the collection – considered second only to that of England's Queen Elizabeth among private collections. Valued by Sotheby's in 1990 at $1.7 billion, Spain is to pay $350 million for 775 works spanning 700 years of Western art – certainly one of the great art coups of all time.

The strength of the early-American painting is just one of the elements that gives the Thyssen collection its completeness and makes it a veritable survey of Western painting: from the religious themes of Italian and Dutch medieval works and an astounding Renaissance portrait gallery to the 20th-century Pop Art of Roy Lichtenstein.

Together they make a priceless addition to the Spanish capital's arts offering.

In what was originally a long-term loan, the Thyssen collection has since October taken up residence on Madrid's Paseo del Prado in the Villahermosa Palace, an early 19th-century building completely renovated to house the Thyssen works. The Thyssen, as it is simply called, joins two other museums to form a compact triangle: the immense Prado museum right across a leafy boulevard and the 1990 Reina Sofia Museum of Contemporary Art just a few blocks south. The trio gives the Spanish capital one of the world's richest art centers.

"After Paris, there is no place now that has a richer offering to show the history of art," Mr. Llorens says. "With the three museums, it's a unique concentration."

The prospect of joining and indeed augmenting this "critical mass of art," as Llorens calls it, was one of the central factors that weighed in favor of Madrid as the Thyssen-Bornemisza family considered sites for exhibiting its collection.

The family wanted to make the bulk of the collection publicly available but had at its disposal only a villa in Lugano, Switzerland, which was deemed insufficient to display the large number of works. So in 1987, the family began looking for a suitable exhibition site.

Immediately the wooing game was on. In addition to a proposal from London, the German government presented a particularly generous plan for housing the collection in Bonn, and the Getty Foundation – which offered $3.5 billion for the collection – designed part of its new museum in Los Angeles with the Thyssen works in mind.

But two factors worked in Spain's favor: the Spanish government's offer of the attractive and enviably located Villahermosa Palace, plus a commitment to spend more than $40 million renovating it for the collection; and the fact that the collection's owner, Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, is married to a Spaniard intent on seeing the collection find a home in her country.

There had been some concerns in government circles about the way the public would respond to the collection's purchase when Spain is experiencing an economic downturn – some official sources claim the announcement was actually put off until after national elections earlier this month.

But when the acquisition was announced June 18, the Madrid daily El Mundo proclaimed ecstatically, "For the eyes of all, and for always." Besides, the Spanish public had already demonstrated its enthusiasm for the museum by flooding through its turnstiles, alongside foreign tourists, in the museum's first nine months. "We're already the second most visited museum of Spain," museum spokeswoman Juby Bustamante says.

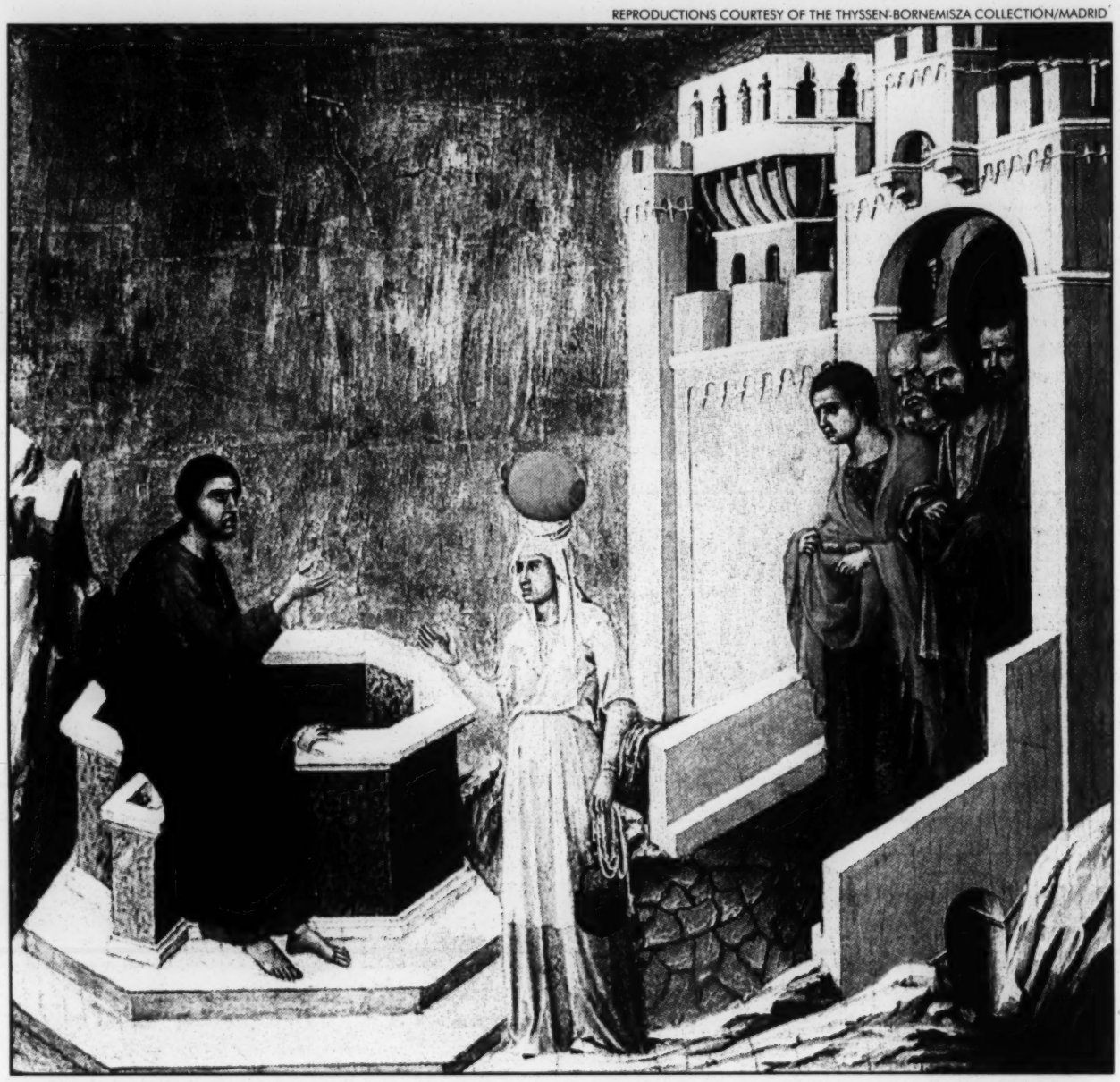
Part of the explanation is that the Thyssen is such a pleasant place to get an education in art history. Redesigned by renowned Spanish architect Rafael Moneo, professor of architecture in Spain and at Harvard, the Villahermosa interior has become three floors of soft Mediterranean-orange galleries, brightened by natural light diffused through typically southern European shutters.

If, as Llorens notes, the average visitor is spending over 90 minutes at the Thyssen, compared to 45 minutes at most museums, the sustaining effect of what Mr. Moneo calls "silent architecture" is undoubtedly a factor.

The color, lighting, and smooth flow from gallery to gallery help the visitor forget his feet as he stands before Hubert van Eyck, Michelangelo da Caravaggio, Bartolomé Murillo, Jacob van Ruisdael, Antoine Watteau, Pierre Auguste Renoir, Paul Gauguin, Paul Cézanne, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Pablo Picasso, Mark Rothko, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Salvador Dali.

"Just the exercise of distributing and hanging 800 works that form a first-rate history of art was an incredible privilege," Llorens says. After walking through the Thyssen, the visitor understands what he means.

REPRODUCTIONS COURTESY OF THE THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA COLLECTION/MADRID



'CRISTO Y LA SAMARITANA': *The painting by 13th-century Italian artist Duccio is one of about 800 in the collection.*

VILLAHERMOSA PALACE: *The building was renovated to house the Thyssen-Bornemisza art.*

One of the World's Top 20 Newspapers

In a recent issue of the Gannett Center Journal, the Gannett Foundation Media Center at New York's Columbia University published an article entitled "Global Elite: A Newspaper Community of Reason." The article selected *The Christian Science Monitor* as one of the top six newspapers in the US, and top twenty in the world, for its "solid quality and intellectual perspective."

This recognition acknowledges the *Monitor*'s commitment to excellence in journalism, a commitment that has continued for nearly a century. The *Monitor*'s reputation for unbiased reporting opens doors so that *Monitor* reporters can offer a unique, in-depth style of world-class journalism.

You may not be a subscriber to all twenty of the world's best, but you shouldn't be without the one newspaper that provides a world perspective unparalleled in American journalism.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

SAVE 44%

ONLY 35¢ AN ISSUE

YES! Enroll me as a subscriber. Send me three months of *The Christian Science Monitor* for the introductory price of only **$21.97.**

Name

Address

City, State ZIP

SEND NO MONEY. You will be billed later. If you already subscribe, please feel free to share this offer with a friend. Sorry, we cannot honor renewal orders at this price.

Simply detach and mail this coupon to:
The Christian Science Monitor
P.O. Box 10116, Des Moines, IA 50340-0116

63/21.97 MH3B010

CSM 1212 393

The Home Forum.

Life Lessons From Mrs. Doi

THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

FROM 'SERIES OF 100 POEMS AS EXPLAINED BY THE NURSE' (ca. 1835-6): *Woodblock print, by School of Hokusai.*

WHEN I first met Mrs. Doi, I had no idea that this short, slender nisei (second generation Japanese-American) woman would have such an impact on my life.

A counselor at my high school in Rochester, N.Y., recruited Mrs. Doi as my tutor in 1971 when I decided to study the Japanese language as an independent study during my senior year. President Nixon's "Ping-Pong diplomacy" with China had interested me, but the tonality of the Chinese language scared me off.

On a language-instruction record I borrowed from the public library, Japanese sounded easy to pronounce. I imagined Japan as a land of kimonos and skyscrapers, an intriguing mix of tradition and modernity. Moreover, study of Japan offered me a chance to carve out a niche of my own, to distinguish myself from my classmates.

Mrs. Doi and I studied Japanese children's textbooks, and she told me stories that made the Japanese language come alive, like how her mother in Stockton, Calif., couldn't decide the correct way to count eggs in Japanese. Does an egg fall into the category of "pieces" counted in *ko* or does it simply use the generic *tsu*? The Japanese attach different suffixes to numbers depending on the shape or nature of the objects they count. I also learned about Japanese dialects from hearing that, as a child, Mrs. Doi laughed at her mother for talking funny on the telephone to friends from their hometown.

I think Mrs. Doi wished that her daughter Mimi would show the same interest in Japan. Early on, she suggested Mimi and I meet for one class. Mimi smuggled a textbook out of her house, and we practiced a Japanese dialogue to dazzle her mother.

"*Watakushi wa Mimi desu*," Mimi delivered her self-introduction perfectly. But the novelty of the language – so unlike the French or Spanish I had already studied – was too much for me. I panicked and failed to feed Mimi the lines she waited for.

If Mrs. Doi noticed Mimi's and my awkwardness, she never said anything. As a child of very critical parents, I took great pleasure in her encouragement. She patiently corrected my mistakes, never calling me "stupid" as my parents would have. I did my homework and showed up on time for every lesson.

During my senior year, Mrs. Doi and I met at the high school, but during the summer and when I visited during college vacations, I went to Mrs. Doi's home. Her small neat house held a different world for me. With its pale walls and matched furniture, it looked much more peaceful than my house, where bright Oriental rugs warred with multicolored furniture upholstered in different fabrics and with an eclectic display of antiques from around the world.

I felt like quite the adult when Mrs. Doi helped me off with my coat and hung it in her front-hall closet. I'd never been treated as an honored guest before. At home, I hung up my own coat – or Mom yelled at me.

After our lessons, sometimes we talked about more-personal matters over a cup of green tea, so different in taste from the orange juice or soda I usually drank. I was surprised the first time Mrs. Doi drank from her cup before pouring for me. But she explained that in Japan the hostess tests the tea before serving others.

Mrs. Doi spoke to me in a way no other adult ever had, like one grown-up to another. Sitting upright in her chair, with her hair neatly braided and coiled on top of her head, she told me in her soft voice about the wartime detention camps for Japanese-Americans. I was shocked. My gentle Mrs. Doi, an enemy? She was allowed to leave the camp for college in the Eastern United States, where there were no "dangerous" concentrations of Japanese. I was curious about that experience but felt it impolite to probe.

As a child of very critical parents, I took great pleasure in Mrs. Doi's encouragement. She patiently corrected my mistakes, never calling me 'stupid.'

Mrs. Doi confided that she and her nisei husband had met and fallen in love American-style before they entered the camps, but they went through the formalities of an *omiai* (a traditional arranged marriage) to please their parents.

Mrs. Doi had accompanied her husband when he worked in occupied Japan, the source of the dishes in the china cabinet behind the table where she and I studied. They had spotted the dishes in the PX and looked for a nisei soldier to loan them money. They didn't ask the *hakujin* (Caucasian) soldiers, only the nisei. As her *hakujin* listener, I felt strange. Did she look upon me as an alien, too? I felt so close to her that I preferred to think of myself as an honorary Japanese-American.

When Mrs. Doi told me her stories, I almost felt like her daughter. And before I went off to college she taught me how to cook rice the Japanese way, washing off the talc and letting the rice sit for an hour to absorb the water. Years later, my husband thought it was strange the first time he saw my rice pot sitting on the burner without a flame. But he likes the taste of my rice.

In my junior year of college, I told Mrs. Doi I was going to Japan. She warned me, "Be careful if a man asks you to *asobu*." *Asobu* usually means to play, as children play with toys, but way down in the dictionary entries comes "make merry, visit the red light district, have a fling." Her motherly concern touched me.

Even after the Dois moved from Rochester to Seattle, we stayed in touch by mail, exchanging letters and postcards. I felt sure that Mrs. Doi cared about me.

When I got engaged, it seemed natural that my fiancé and I visit the Dois in Seattle on our trip to see my mom's family in Vancouver, British Columbia. It wasn't just that Seattle was a manageable drive from Vancouver. It felt as if the Dois were part of my family with the right to check out Allan before the wedding.

By the time we visited the Dois, I had finished my PhD in Japanese history and had held a business job for a couple of years. So I wasn't surprised when Mrs. Doi's husband suggested that we call them by their first names – Jim and Mary. But I just couldn't do it. I couldn't upset my Japanese instinct to honor my teacher instead of treating her like a pal.

During the 20 years since my first Japanese lesson, I've studied with many outstanding teachers. But they can't begin to replace Mrs. Doi's tender care.

Susan B. Weiner

[This is a Japanese translation of today's religious article]
[これは今日の宗教記事の翻訳です]

祈りはストレスを克服する

現代社会は，速いテンポで動き，多くのことを私たちに要求します。これらの要求が対立した場合，私たちは，ある人々が「ストレスで参ってしまった」と情け無い調子で言うような状態に陥るのです。更に緊張度が高まると，冗談では済まされなくなります。この状態を解消するために様々の方法が示されていますが，これらの手段は私たちを一時的に解放してくれるだけであって，私たちは，再びストレスの問題に直面するのです。

この問題をもっと恒久的に解決する道，謙虚な祈りによる道が，私たちの手の届くところにあるのです。このような祈りは，**神***が助けてくれることを単に願うという希望ではなく，**神**が定めた霊的法則を理解したいと切望する祈りなのです。これらの法則は確実に私たちを助けてくれます。これらの法則を忠実に守ることが，**キリスト・イエス**の聖職と教えの基盤でした，そして彼は，**神**と常に絶対に一体であったことにより，助けを求めてきた人々を，癒し，更生させることができたのです。更に，これらの霊的法則は，彼に癒しを求めて幾百人もの人々が押し寄せたために，彼が見舞われると考えられるいかなるストレスからも，彼を解放してくれたに違いありません。イエスは，これらすべての経験，また十字架上のはりつけ及びそれに至る出来事を通して，内なる平安を，見事に，揺るぎなく保ち続けました。

イエスは，人は現実に霊的であり，自分の神性の**父**，つまり**神**，と離れ得ないことを理解していました。私たちもまた，この事実を修得し，理解することができます。一見そのように見えても，私たち一人一人は，ぶつかり合い，苦闘する人間ではなく，現実に**神**に創造された，霊的な人なのです。そして，常に現存する**神**の統治の下にあって，自分が生得権として**神**から自然に受けている霊的平和を感じることができます。

これは論理的なものでも，抽象的なものでもありません。自分が**神**の所産，つまり神性の愛の子供であるという事実を理解すると，次にそれが証明されます。祈りを通して，私たちは，どうすれば対立状態を客観的に見ることができるか，また**神**・善の意志を実行するよう励むことができるか，分かるようになってきます。例えば，自分自身の方法で進めるのではなく，**神**の意志に従うとき，自我，個人的責任感，恐怖心，自己顕示欲などが作り出す重圧を排除することが，より容易になります。私たちはまた，**キリスト**・イエスから与えられた祈りの力と，直接に手を結んでいるのです。これは「主の祈り」と呼ばれ，聖書のマタイによる福音書に示されている祈りです。この中で，師イエスは**神**について，「みこころが天に行われるとおり，地にも行われますように」と言っています。この祈りは，人間のすべての必要に応えます。**神**の意志に従うという単刀直入な言明が，他の人々との対決状態から私たちを救い，高め，私たちを，すべてを愛し，すべての人の**父**である**神**と，真に一体にしてくれます。**キリスト**，**神**の真の理念，の影響の下に，私たちは，自分が**神性なるもの**と，また他の人々と，一つであることの証拠を見るのです。そしてまた，自分の切望している平和を見いだします。

それに加えて，私たちは，過度の緊張状態に導くような状況を始めから避けることに熟達してきます。メリー・ベーカー・エディの著書，『**科学**と健康—付聖書の鍵』は，イエスが立派に実証した**神**のさまざまな法則を，十分明瞭に説明しています。その中で，**キリスト教科学****の発見者・創始者は，私たちが，自分を物質的ではなく，霊的に理解することの重要さを，明確にしています。彼女は，「物質的な生活の信念や夢とは全く別に存在するのが，神性の**生命**であり，それは霊的理解と，人が全地を支配するという意識とを啓示する」と書いています。この霊的支配が，ストレスを招くような状況から—職場，家庭，学校，その他どこにおいても—私たちを，高め，解放してくれます。祈りを通して，私たちは，自分を捕えているように思われるかもしれない人間状況のしがらみを打ち破ることができ，すべてを愛し，完全である**神**の導きに頼ることを可能にしてくれます。神性の**父**が，私たち一人一人を守り，私たちを，**神**自身と，また他の人々と調和のうちに保つことを信頼すると，重圧の下にあるという気持は大方消えてしまいます。そして**キリスト**・イエスと同じように，私たちも，**神**の平和を経験するのです。

* 太字は，唯一無限の**神**，**神**の同意語，およびキリスト**教科学**で特殊な意義をもつ用語。
**Christian Science（クリスチャン・サイエンス）

Prayer Overcomes Stress

TODAY'S society is fast-moving and it makes many demands on us. When these demands come into conflict, we often feel what some call ruefully "stressed out." And when pressure builds up, it's no joke. Many remedies for this condition are offered, but usually these relieve us only for a while. Then we have to face the challenge of stress once more.

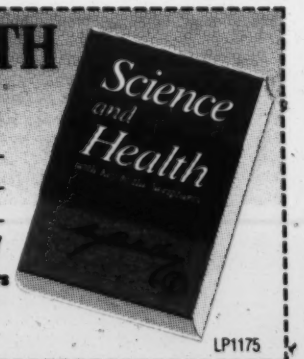
A more permanent solution is available to us through humble prayer—the kind of prayer that isn't just a wishful hope that God will help us but a yearning to understand the spiritual laws God has laid down. These laws certainly *will* help us. Obedience to these laws was fundamental to Christ Jesus' ministry and teaching, and his steadfast unity with God enabled him to heal and regenerate those who came to him for help. In addition, these spiritual laws surely alleviated any of the stress he might have been expected to feel as hundreds of people sought him for healing. Through all these experiences, up to and including the crucifixion, Jesus was able to maintain an impressive and unshakable inner peace.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Jesus understood that man is actually spiritual and is inseparable from his divine Father, God. We can learn to understand this as well. Instead of being the clashing, struggling mortals we seem to be, each of us is actually God-created, spiritual man. And within the ever-presence of God's government we can feel the spiritual peace that is our natural heritage.

This isn't something theoretical or abstract. Proof follows the understanding that we are God's offspring, the children of divine Love. Through prayer, we begin to see how we can view conflict objectively and seek to do the will of God, good. When we turn to God's will, instead of trying to get our own way, for instance, we are more able to eliminate the pressures that ego, personal responsibility, fear, or one-upmanship produces. We are also directly allying ourselves with the power of the prayer Christ Jesus gave us. It is called the Lord's Prayer and is found in the Bible in Matthew's Gospel. In it, the Master says of God, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." This prayer addresses every human need. And in its direct statement of obedience to God's will, it lifts us out of the realm where we are clashing with others and into true unity with God, the all-loving Father of us all. Through the influence of Christ, the true idea of God, we see evidence of our oneness with the Divine and with one another. And we find the peace we long for.

In addition, we become more adept at preventing conditions that lead to stress in the first place. Mary Baker Eddy's book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* fully articulates the laws of God that Jesus so ably demonstrated. And in it the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science makes very clear the importance of seeing ourselves in spiritual, not material, terms. She writes, "Entirely separate from the belief and dream of material living, is the Life divine, revealing spiritual understanding and the consciousness of man's dominion over the whole earth." This spiritual dominion is what lifts us above circumstances that are potentially stressful, whether they occur at work, at home, at school, or elsewhere. Through prayer we are able to break the grip that human situations may seem to have on us and to trust ourselves to the guiding will of an all-loving and perfect God. As we trust our divine Father to protect and keep each of us in harmony with Himself and with others, the feeling of being pressured will diminish substantially. And like Christ Jesus, we too will experience the peace of God.

SCIENCE AND HEALTH
with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy
This 700 page book is the complete statement of Christian Science.
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
Write to Science and Health, P.O. Box 1875, Boston MA 02117
or Call 1-800-633-1300 Orders only
VISA®, MasterCard®, checks accepted or "bill me." $14.95 postpaid.
Mail orders from outside the U.S. will be billed in local currency.


LP1175

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

What Is Multilateralism?

THE White House-led missile strike against an Iraqi intelligence target June 26 may have been a legitimate retaliation after an alleged assassination attempt against former President Bush. But its main aim was probably to address a perception, at home and abroad, of a White House with a weak or uncertain foreign policy that is unwilling to use force. Whether fair or unfair, the perception developed after President Clinton backed off action in Bosnia in May, and after a policy speech by Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff outlining a reduced American role in the world.

An ongoing perception of US weakness could bring more instability in a post-cold-war world where nations still look to the US for leadership.

Mr. Clinton inherited terrible options. President Bush rode out the end of the cold war; he spoke, prematurely, of the triumph of democracy and of a peace dividend. But the Clinton administration must now define a new post-Soviet era. It is unclear what principles the West stands for and will defend. The European Community is not unified. NATO is on the wane. Ethnic strife is on the rise. The West may no longer have to fear a Soviet nuclear strike, but nuclear proliferation, in North Korea and elsewhere, is a possibility. During the UN human rights conference in Vienna that ended June 27, half the world argued for two weeks *against* the idea of absolute, universal human rights.

To face this new world, the White House brings a foreign policy strategy called "multilateralism." In theory it is a fine idea. It means the US will make decisions based on consulting allies and won't "call the shots" unless its "national interest" is at stake.

Yet is multilateralism adequate for a world whose principles and alliances are still unclear?

The limits of this policy were seen after the Iraq bombing. Angry Egyptian comments about a double standard – why bomb Baghdad but not Serbs persecuting Bosnian Muslims? – caused UN Ambassador Madeleine Albright to say the US supports the Muslim world's efforts to lift the Bosnian arms embargo. Yet only last week, when German Chancellor Kohl, acting on a letter from the White House, stuck his neck out in the EC to lift the Bosnian embargo, Clinton backed off his own letter. "We didn't expect the Europeans to take action," a US official confided. What principles are these?

Multilateralism has its positive elements, but must prove it is not simply a means of escaping responsibility. Rather than act on Haiti, for example, Clinton merely blamed the UN. Moreover, the "national interest" could be invoked to cover what would seem an arbitrary use of US power.

The world needs hard-headed idealism from the White House – not a retreat. Let's hope that in his foreign-policy speech in San Francisco July 5, President Clinton provides leadership, and a better concept of multilateralism.

EDITORIALS

Curb the PACs

Political-action committees 'buy' attention of candidates

By Amitai Etzioni

SPECIAL interests are threatened by President Clinton's attempt to curb the flood of private funds into political campaign chests.

They spin a surprisingly thick web of defensive rationalizations. Here is an offering of responses:

"Campaign contributions buy only access, not votes." Given the very limited amount of time elected officials have to meet with their constituents, to be able to buy access will disadvantage all those who do not have deep pockets.

"Do you really believe that politicians would sell their votes for a mere $5,000, the maximum a political-action committee can give?" Special interest groups can create as many PACs as they wish. For instance, the dairy industry had, at one point, 21 PACs. A PAC can give $5,000 for the primary and $5,000 for general elections. Twenty-one times $10,000 will pay a good part of one's campaigning costs. And, unlike solicitations from individuals, PAC money flows easily.

"Everyone has a PAC, so things even out." Actually, many corporations won't touch them. The National Asphalt Pavement Association abandoned theirs as unsavory. The more vulnerable members of society, the unemployed, the poor and the sick, have no PACs, or at best meager ones. The biggest PACs are those of the arms industry, bankers, real estate lobbies, labor unions, and the National Rifle Association. They often carry the day against the wishes of the un-PACed majority.

"Politicians first choose what to vote for on the basis of their convictions and then money flows to them." A "Public Citizen" study shows that politicians quite readily violate their "philosophy" to vote in ways that satisfy special interest groups. Moreover, about 80 percent of the donors don't give a hoot about convictions; they want specific economic favors, from a tax loophole to a farm subsidy.

"Candidate X raised and spends more money then candidate Y and still lost the election. Money does not matter." While the money doesn't guarantee a victory, it greatly improves the odds for those candidates who can pay for public opinion polls, focus groups, time on television, and so on.

'PACs are a form of political participation. To restrict them is undemocratic." Individuals who donate to PACs are not allowed to designate to whom the money goes. This is decided by small cliques of PAC managers, without consultation with the individual donors. Most PAC managers do not even inform their donors after the fact on whom their largess was bestowed. In short, PACs are about as democratic as voting blindfolded with some stranger marking the ballot.

"Money is speech. Prohibiting the rich from using it is unconstitutional." There is no hint in the Constitution that money is protected under the first or any other amendment or clause. To equate money with speech is akin to allowing one to bring megaphones to town-hall meetings to drown out all others.

It is a sign of the power of special interests that they can use their deep pockets not merely to sway politicians, but also to reward select individuals.

In the coming debate about curbing campaign contributions, keep your eyes open and your wallet shut.

■ *Amitai Etzioni's most recent book, "The Spirit of Community," elaborates the anti-PAC case.*

Double-Edged Districts

THE US Supreme Court's 5-to-4 decision to allow five white voters from North Carolina to challenge the constitutionality of a black-majority congressional district could inject an unsettling factor into efforts to ensure minority representation in Congress and state legislatures.

At issue is North Carolina's 12th District, one of two such districts in the state drawn after the 1990 Census to conform to the Voting Rights Act. The districts were drawn under US Justice Department supervision. The effort led to the election last year of the first black House members from the state in nearly a century; 22 percent of the state's population is black. Similar efforts led to 26 new minority districts nationwide.

The five voters argued that the district was drawn in a way that denies them equal protection under the law.

Writing for the majority, Justice O'Connor held that while states have a strong interest in complying with constitutional antidiscrimination laws, the Voting Rights Act does not protect redistricting plans from challenge or give states "carte blanche to engage in racial gerrymandering."

One view of the June 28 ruling is that only districts egregiously gerrymandered to give minorities a majority – as North Carolina's 12th was – would be challenged. It is possible to draw minority-majority districts in less bizarre ways if lawmakers are willing to carve up incumbents' holdings. If the high court's ruling ultimately forces that, the result could be more fresh faces of all types.

Yet without a clearer signal from the court, less obviously gerrymandered districts could be threatened.

Justice John Paul Stevens got it right when he noted that the Constitution has no requirement dealing with shapes of districts, and since it has been permissible to draw districts to solidify the voting strengths of ethnic groups or political parties, it certainly is valid to do so for a group "whose history...gave birth to the Equal Protection Clause."

US Intervention in Guatemala Overrated

In the Opinion page article "Behind Guatemala's 'Miracle'," June 23, the author suggests that United States intervention played a decisive role in restoring democracy to Guatemala. He argues that the threat of US trade sanctions caused conservative sectors in Guatemala to end their support for ex-President Jorge Serrano's seizure of dictatorial power, forcing his resignation.

Subsequent events belie this conclusion. After Serrano was deposed, the Guatemalan Army tried to perpetuate the coup by installing Vice President Gustavo Espina, a Serrano protégé, as the new ruler.

Washington publicly acquiesced, saying that it would accept Mr. Espina for the sake of regional stability. Had local conservatives been responding mainly to US signals, they would have presumably backed Espina, having done the minimum to escape foreign pressure, but most did not. That the nation's former human-rights ombudsman, Ramiro de Leon, assumed the presidency instead shows that domestic forces for change were far stronger than any supplied by Washington.

David Longtin ***Washington***

LETTERS

Using renewable resources wisely

Regarding your editorial "Where to Stop Chopping," June 23: The author states, "even carefully paced timber-harvesting monitored by the US Forest Service would eventually exhaust the resource."

This is not an accurate statement; trees are a renewable resource. Since 1952, United States timber growth has annually exceeded removal. It is a fact that the use of nonrenewable wood substitutes would have to be increased significantly to compensate for large-scale reductions in the amount of wood harvested.

The atmosphere, the earth, and the increasing population demand that we make better use of our resources. We need to encourage the wise use of renewable resources.

Richard Schaberg ***East Lansing, Mich.***

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.

OPINION/ESSAYS

Serbia's crackdown in Kosovo potentially worse than in Bosnia

Kosovo's Plea for Help

By Bujar Bukoshi

JEFF DANZIGER–STAFF

THE deputy head of the United Nations forces in the Balkans, Cedric Thornberry, warned recently that the crisis in Kosovo, where Albanians comprise 92 percent of the population and the Serbians rule through apartheid, is potentially more dangerous than current fighting in Bosina-Herzegovina.

The observation may seem strange to some, since international media attention for the last year has focused on the atrocities of Serbian "ethnic cleansing" against Muslims in Bosnia.

However, for three years human rights leaders have identified Kosovo, a formerly autonomous province and one of the original eight constituent units of former Yugoslavia, as the site of brutal forms of repression of 2.2 million Albanians by a handful of Serbs who control the military.

In 1989, Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic revoked Kosovo's autonomous status and launched his "ethnic cleansing" campaign, long before the first Muslim villages were attacked in Bosnia. Since then, the people of Kosovo have lived under a reign of terror, intimidation, abuse, beatings, and killings at the hands of the Belgrade regime, which has imposed martial law on our country.

Serbian authorities have abrogated virtually all of the Albanians' human, civil, and national rights. Martial law has closed Albanian-language schools and the university; severely limited access to health care for Albanians, since Albanian physicians were summarily fired; and led to 80 percent unemployment among Albanians, who were sacked because of their ethnicity. Nearly 300,000 Albanians have been forced to flee Kosovo.

In recent weeks, the Serbs have mounted a military buildup with more than 100,000 Serbian troops and heavily armed Serbian police stationed in our country. With the forced removal of Yugoslav President Cosic, the hand of the ultra-nationalist hardliners in Belgrade has been strengthened.

My government has adhered to peaceful opposition to Serbian brutality. We want to be part of the solution, not the problem. However, the patience of our people is not limitless. We must be allowed to pursue our basic rights through freedom and democracy.

We have asked that the UN immediately deploy an observer mission to Kosovo, coupled with a substantial increase in the number of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe human rights monitors now in our country. We need more outsiders inside our country to observe firsthand the degree of repression and brutality. Humanitarian assistance is needed immediately as well.

Furthermore, NATO troops should be dispatched in sufficient numbers to maintain peace as soon as possible. Serbian heavy weapons need to be placed under international control. Serbs already have installed artillery and measured trajectories.

The no-fly zone in force over Bosnia should be expanded to include Kosovo, the roving bands of Serbian paramilitary thugs should be disbanded, and Serbia's practice of colonizing Kosovo by importing Serbs from Bosnia and Montenegro should be ended.

For the longer term, the UN should declare and administer a Trust Territory of Kosovo for a few years. In the absence of any indication that Belgrade is willing to negotiate, Kosovo should be placed under UN protection with the understanding that at the end of the transition phase, the Albanians will exercise their right to self-determination. Under the trusteeship provided for in the UN Charter, Kosovo will be demilitarized while developing close economic and cultural links with its neighbors. The Serbian minority and Serbian cultural and religious monuments will be protected.

A UN trusteeship could be difficult for Serbia to swallow, but it is one of the best solutions to the crisis Serbia has created. Belgrade must accept the fact that its continued rule over Kosovo, in which Serbs comprise only 8 percent of the population, is untenable.

If Serbia refuses to place Kosovo under a trusteeship, the UN Security Council should declare the situation "a threat to international peace and security," while designating our country a safe haven and providing protection for Kosovars by all means necessary, as provided in the UN Charter. Such powers were invoked when Iraq attacked Kurds in southern Iraq, the Khmer Rouge refused to cooperate with the peace settlement in Cambodia, as well as in the difficult situations in Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We hope the world community will adopt our approach. Either the world must stop Serbian aggression at the borders of Kosovo, or it will face a very real possibility of a wider Balkan war, which could send shock waves through Europe and Central Asia. Failure to act also would encourage ultra-nationalists elsewhere, such as the former Soviet Union, to engage in "ethnic cleansing."

The citizens of my country are unarmed, defenseless. Their only weapon is a firm commitment to freedom and democracy, with faith that the international community will act morally and courageously if our worst expectations come to pass.

■ *Bujar Bukoshi was appointed prime minister of the Republic of Kosovo by Ibrahim Rugova following Mr. Rugova's election in May 1992. The Serb government in Belgrade did not recognize the elections. Mr. Bukoshi lives in Stuttgart, Germany.*

Cuba's Citizens Suffer From US Blockade

By César Chelala

IRRESPECTIVE of anyone's opinion concerning Fidel Castro's regime, it has become obvious that the United States embargo against Cuba has not led to his ouster and probably will not do so in the near future. Rather, what it has achieved is unnecessary suffering for the Cuban people and increased pressure on dissidents.

How to overcome decades of misunderstanding between the US government and the Castro regime has become one of the main issues confronting the Clinton administration. The US trade embargo against Cuba violates the Charter of the Organization of American States, which declares: "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State."

The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force, but also "any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic, and cultural elements."

Last September, Congress passed and President Bush signed the "Cuban Democracy Act of 1992," which tightens the 30-year trade ban by prohibiting foreign subsidiaries of US companies from doing business with Cuba. The law has been severely criticized at the United Nations, and 59 countries backed a resolution asking the US to repeal it. Britain called it "a violation of a general principle of international law and the sovereignty of independent nations." Only Israel and Romania sided with the US against that resolution.

The blockade against Cuba is not justified in the current international context. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba is no longer a security threat to the US. It is not capable of subverting governments in Central America, and it has ceased to be a significant factor in the balance of power in some African countries.

At the same time, the lack of economic support from Cuba's allies in the Soviet sphere, over 30 years of blockade and the economic mismanagement of the Cuban government, has brought its people's standard of living to a subsistence level.

FOR more than a year and a half each Cuban has had access to only one pound of rice, six pounds of beans, two eggs, a pint of oil, and less than 15 kilograms of potatoes per month. Although some products can be obtained in the black market, their price is prohibitive. More than 300 medicines and basic medical supplies are lacking. Surgery is only done on very selected cases, and there are limitations on ambulance services.

This situation has had a serious effect on the capacity of health services to provide adequate attention to the population.

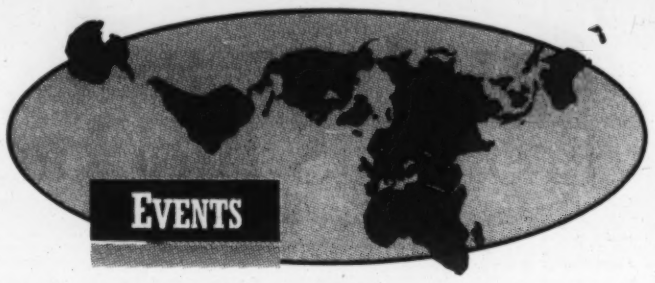
Is there a way out of this quagmire? There is, if compassion, intelligence, and true commitment for democracy replace the intransigent positions of both the US and the Cuban governments. A partial lifting of the embargo could take effect, which would include the entry of food and medical supplies into Cuba.

This could be conditioned on the willingness of the Cuban government to institute a change in favor of democratization, which would also benefit the Cuban people.

One such measure for consideration, although by no means the only one, could be the liberation of all political prisoners in the island. Negotiations between Cuba and the US, which could be conducted by a commission of notable personalities agreed upon by both governments, would not be a new fact in the stormy relations between the two countries.

A similar transaction took place after the failed invasion of the island in 1961, through an exchange of 1,189 prisoners taken by the Cubans for agricultural machinery and medicines. This arrangement could be the initial one in a gradual tension-lowering process that could ultimately lead to lifting the blockade against that country. The Cuban people would be the ones most to benefit from a more open, rational policy.

■ *Dr. César Chelala is a member of the Board of Sponsors of Physicians for Human Rights, and co-winner of an Overseas Press Club of America award for the best article on human rights.*



IRAQ REACTS TO US STRIKE

Iraqi troops laced the sky over Baghdad with anti-aircraft fire June 29, but there was no indication of a new US attack, and an Iraqi official said the gunners might have fired on one of their own planes by mistake. The shooting underscored the tension gripping Baghdad since the US missile attack on the Iraqi intelligence headquarters, which killed eight civilians. Government-controlled news media warned of a showdown with the United States and told Iraqis to prepare for a long confrontation. Iraq has vowed to retaliate for the missile attack, and the US has warned it will respond in kind. For the government of President Saddam Hussein, the US strike ended hope of improved ties with the Clinton administration. But the ensuing crisis could prop up Saddam's popularity, which has sagged due to economic problems caused by UN trade sanctions imposed after his invasion of Kuwait nearly three years ago.

Floods halt US barges

National Guardsmen and volunteers piled sandbags along the Mississippi River on June 29 to hold back floodwaters that have killed at least one person and stopped commercial traffic on a 500-mile stretch. States of emergency were declared in parts of Wisconsin and disaster areas were declared in Iowa, enabling counties to seek state personnel and equipment.

The high water from recent torrential rains has halted commercial traffic on the river from St. Paul, Minn., to St. Louis. A complete estimate will not be known until floodwaters recede, but officials said crop damage alone will be in the millions.

US economy drops off

The government's chief economic forecasting gauge fell 0.3 percent in May, continuing a see-saw pattern that signals continued but uneven growth ahead.

The drop was a bit worse than the 0.1 percent or 0.2 percent anticipated by analysts. The Index of Leading Indicators is designed to predict economic activity six to nine months in advance. In addition, sales of new homes plunged 21 percent in May to the lowest level in a year and virtually erased April's jump to a six-year high, the government said today. Sales fell in every region except the West.

Mafia roundup in Italy

Authorities said June 29 they smashed the leading mob clan in the Taranto area in southern Italy, and reported the arrest of a key member of the powerful Corleone faction of the Sicilian Mafia. The arrests are the latest in a government crackdown on organized crime that followed the murder last year of two prominent anti-Mafia judges.

Japan's unemployment rises

Japan's unemployment rate reached 2.5 percent in May, the highest level since September 1988, when the labor market was suffering the fallout from the 1986-87 recession, an official of the Management and Coordination Agency said.

Although Japan's unemployment is far lower than that of other leading industrialized countries, the jobs-to-applicants ratio showed that only 81 jobs were offered for every 100 applicants in May, down from 84 in April. The ratio has been falling since peaking at 146 in March 1991, a Labor Ministry official said.

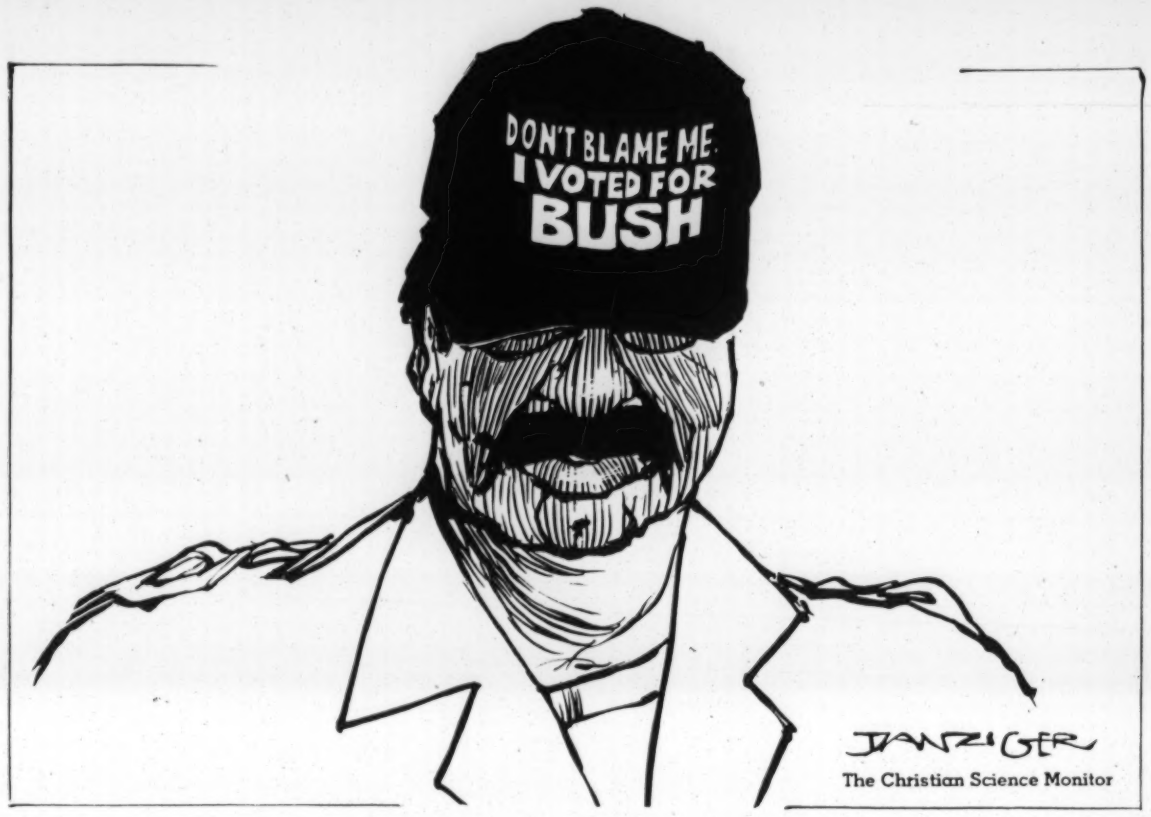
Nigeria lawyers rise up

Lawyers began boycotting Nigeria's courts June 29, and a powerful labor group threatened a nationwide strike to protest Gen. Ibrahim Babangida's decree annulling elections aimed at restoring civilian rule. Amid violence across the country, the northern Bauchi state governor banned all unauthorized gatherings and urged Nigerians to support the military leadership "in its bid to enthrone genuine democracy."

Peres to visit Egypt

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres will visit Egypt in the next few days to discuss ways of pushing the Middle East peace process forward, an Egyptian foreign ministry source said June 29. He said the exact date of the visit had not yet been fixed. The 10th round of talks in Washington is now in its third week but seems to be making little progress.

– Compiled by Eric C. Evarts



Amid tenuous talks to revive democracy, Haitians stock up on supplies, watch their currency fall

Haiti's Democracy in Limbo

ONE way to monitor the political climate in Haiti is to check the value of the Haitian gourde to the American dollar. It used to be a flat 5 to 1. Today the fluctuating exchange rate is a daily reflection of the state of negotiations to resolve Haiti's 21-month-old crisis.

When democratically elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted in a military coup on September 30, 1991, the Organization of American States imposed a hemispheric embargo on Haiti in order to return the country to democracy. In spite of the embargo's weak enforcement, the gourde fell as people, worrying about short supplies, scrambled to buy on the black market. Following the June 23 imposition of a United Nations ban on oil and arms shipments to Haiti, prompting more concern, the value of the gourde dropped to 17 to 1.

THE WORLD FROM PORT-AU-PRINCE

While there is an appreciation for the power of the US dollar, there is less respect for the power of the US government. Haitians have a tendency to blame all their problems on the United States, including the 1991 coup. A 19-year US military occupation that began in 1915 left the legacy of a repressive military. Past dictatorships have been supported by past US administrations.

The US has not recognized the de facto government. But neither has it recognized the majority of some 40,000 boat people who have fled Haiti as political rather than economic refugees, denying them the chance to apply for political asylum. Current US policy, supported by a June 21 Supreme Court ruling, is that the Coast Guard can continue to return intercepted Haitians without offering them a chance to seek asylum.

Nonetheless, Haitians have also hoped that the US would provide a solution to the crisis. Many believed one phone call would have their president reinstated. But as weeks turned to months, it became clear that their desire didn't correspond to actions by Washington, where officials worried about the threat of boat people flooding US shores.

When a United Nations special envoy was appointed to mediate negotiations last December between the different power blocs, hopes for a solution were renewed. But again, months went by with no results. The value of the dollar increased while the Haitians' spirits deflated.

Haitians are now in limbo. They are waiting to see if the talks now under way in New York between the head of the Haitian armed forces and Fr. Aristide will finally resolve the crisis.

But there is widespread skepticism that the international community can, in fact, do anything short of invading to help restore democracy.

The military is waiting to see to what extremes the international community will go to restore democracy. The OAS embargo has been defied. It is too early to know if the UN sanctions will be enforced. In spite of the presence of a UN-OAS peacekeeping force, the military has continued to rule repressively, according to human rights activists and political observers.

In fact, the day negotiations began in New York on June 27, the Haitian military attacked parishioners at a Catholic mass who were chanting for Aristide's return. Throughout the countryside, people were beaten and arrested.

Fed up with the lack of results from negotiations, Haitians are cautiously taking matters in their own hands. A national strike was held June 24 to demand Aristide's return.

The strike was only partially respected in the provinces, but in Port-au-Prince, people peacefully stayed home. If negotiations fail again, analysts here worry that next time people will take to the streets, and they won't be so peaceful.

– Kathie Klarreich